PAIDIKA

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INTERVIEW: KENNETH PLUMMER

Dr. Kenneth Plummer is a Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex, England. As early as the beginning of the 1980's, his contributions to the study of paedophilia included the essay "Pedophilia: Constructing a Sociological Baseline," which appeared in *Adult Sexual Interest in Children* (London & New York: Academic Press, 1981), edited by Mark Cook and Kevin Howells, in which he reviewed the research sources available at the time and strongly argued for an assessment of paedophilia free of prejudice and stereotyping, and "The Paedophile's' Progress: A View from Below," which appeared in Brian Taylor's collection *Perspectives on Paedophilia* (London: Batsford, 1981), in which he assessed the early history of paedophile organizing on the part of the Paedophile Information Exchange and the reactions it was receiving. In 1975 he published *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul). His article "Understanding Childhood Sexualities" will appear in the forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of Homosexuality* on paedophilia in 1991. Dr. Plummer's analysis reflects the social construction theory in the study of sexuality, which argues that sexual behavior is, in all significant aspects, a product of social and cultural interaction rather than biological factors. The interview was conducted in Amsterdam in February, 1990, by the Co-Editors of *Paidika*.

Definitions and Identities

Question: *In an early essay, "Constructing a Sociological Baseline for Paedophilia," you seem to discuss paedophilia as a phenomenon that is separate from other forms of sexuality. In fact, in a footnote you wrote of "the now incorrect stereotype that homosexuals are boylovers." Where do you today locate paedophilia among the sexualities and how would you define it?*

Kenneth Plummer: I don't think that I was saying that paedophilia is an individual phenomenon. I see it as part of the massive flux of sexuality, not as a discrete or separate category. What I was trying to do in the article you mentioned was unpack and unravel the notion of paedophilia. I do not see it as a unitary fixed phenomenon, nor as an individual type of sexuality. This was part of a much bigger project that I've been involved with, which is to see sexuality as experiences which the modern world encodes for us. They are given to us in neatly packaged forms, almost as if we can't bear living sexualities without labels, without fixed structures being given to them. I don't think that adult-child sexualities are in any way clearly given or clearly frozen. After all, the notion of, should I even say it, "the paedophile" is an invention of the 19th century, which tried medically, clinically, pathologically, to describe in a coherent way certain groups of people, certain packages of experiences, in order to regulate and control them. The problem, of course, becomes that, after a period of time, because of these definitions and descriptions, these encoded forms, a group does come to exist, so that now we have to say clearly that there are paedophiles. Paedophiles become socially constructed.

What I was trying to do in the article was to debunk that socially constructed image. A whole chunk of the article is given over to breaking down first of all the idea of a fixed type, and secondly breaking down the very notion of the paedophile. Partly it tried to invent new language to think around the notion of the paedophile, and paedophilia. The investigation led me increasingly to think about the role of language and desire. But, the central point really is that there is nothing intrinsically given in sexuality, or as we now call them, sexualities. Or gender for that matter. And that children aren't fixed either, nor men and women fixed. The whole thing is basically a flux which we encode, on which we put whole sets of categorizations in order to regulate lives and control them and our experiences. It allows societies to function. Recently, we might call it the post-modern moment. We're recognizing that no category can do justice to experience, and there is no fixed truth about sexuality anymore than there is one fixed truth about adult-child relations. They are all far more complex things.

You say that you want to deconstruct categories of sexuality, but then you also maintain that "paedophile" has become an actual category, an identity. On the one hand you're saying that sexuality is a flux. On the other hand you admit the ability of society to fix and construct sexual identities. Isn't this a contradiction?

No, not really. I can describe it as three stages. There was a moment in history when sexualities were not encoded the way they are now and the word paedophile didn't even exist. There were certainly, there always have been, sexual relations between adults and children. But they weren't coded the same way as they are now. Then there comes a moment when they are coded in a particular way, in this case partly with the invention by Krafft-Ebing of the word "paedophile". Society finds the category helpful in regulating these relations and, ironically, for some people the category "paedophile" is helpful in coming to know the sort of person they think they really are. It gives their lives a coherence. Then there's a third phase, which is the future in some ways, where—and I would see the same thing for homosexuality and all the other types of sexuality we've been landed with in the past century—there comes a period when you could live a life engaging in various forms of paedophilias that don't lead you to organize your life essentially as dominated by them. The culture begins to see paedophilia and paedophile relationships in a broader context and can come to terms with some of them. At present it certainly can't. It loathes them but that only hardens the identity. I'm more

a social constructionist than a deconstructionist in the sense that, given this flux of desires, societies pattern them in different ways in different times, so we now have got "paedophilia". I don't deny the existence of paedophilia. I don't see a contradiction.

I would also add that if there really were, as the 19th century theorists taught us, all these different types, then the world is populated by a endless array of rather specific types of sexual people. And we could invent new ones right now. The foot fetishist, for example, is one of my favorites. People who love feet exist in very large numbers and there's a literature for them. They haven't quite hardened into an identity, but they could over a period of time. And things we haven't even thought about could become clear sexual types too. It worries me, the way this is going on. It worried me about homosexuality and it worries me about paedophilia.

Now that you view paedophilia as having come into existence, how would you describe it?

What I can do is describe how it is defined in the literature. The first thing you see is that it is described paradoxically: defined as child-love, literally involving the love of children, and yet was invented as a pathological category. Now, child-love doesn't sound to me pathological. But the original descriptions were clearly of people who were not lovers of children, but disturbed psychically in relationship to children. So there's an immediate contradiction established in the terminology.

Also, if you're talking about child-lovers, then that presumably means all the genders right across the board: women loving girls, women loving boys, men loving boys and men loving girls. Yet reading the literature you'd be left with the impression that child-love is largely about men loving boys, whereas the term itself doesn't mean that at all. So, the word can be defined, and is defined, in any number of ways. In England at present the word paedophile means the devil. Certainly the word means all sorts of different things to all sorts of different people. People I interviewed in the seventies, for example, who saw themselves as paedophiles described it as a very loving experience, gentle, caring and all that.

What I am trying to say, however, is that all these definitions of paedophile lead to the belief that there is a truth to the category. But, the category exists only in the way people organize debates around it. It becomes a real phenomenon when people define it as a real phenomenon, and that is so on many different levels. After all, people lead their lives around it, and people fight about it. It's very real in that sense.

But in a deeper sense it is also real insofar as, probably across all cultures at all times in history, there have been different patterns of relating erotically between adults and children in a multiplicity of complex ways. So, it's real in the sense that there is a very open ended universal form of experience going on here, that takes on very concrete and specific, different forms at different historical moments. It's reàl in both those ways.

Does paedophilia take on different forms from culture to culture, or historical period to historical period, or is it that different meanings are ascribed in different times and places to the same phenomenon?

My point here is the same debate as I have with homosexuality. There is a slender thread of continuity here, but the meanings shift dramatically, and around these meanings the whole cultural organization is fundamentally different.

I think it's even dangerous to suggest that modern paedophilia is anything at all like Greek love. For example, in the ancient Greek model women were pretty much left out of the picture, they were pushed aside. The whole society was organized at the very least with a different meaning regarding women attached to it. There was no modern education system; there was a military basis for society. The society was organized in a very different way, so I do not think you can make simple comparisons between Greek and modern homosexuality or paedophilia. Some would think this is heresy, because when people tap into these experiences they build up massive historical arguments for defending themselves. Paedophilia is no different in this regard. People want to build up a history, want to make sense of their lives his-

torically. So people raid the past to show that it was like the present, to make their own lives more sensible and plausible now. In the case of virtually all sexual minorities now, including the Women's movement, one of the big enterprises is to rediscover their history. In England right now, the lesbian radical workshop claims there have always been lesbians, and their history has been denied them, that you can go right back to Sappho and it's all there. They use it as a way of politically organizing. But I don't think it's a straightforward historical truth they're discovering; it's using history in the present to justify future acts. Politically this seems fair enough to me.

The Three Discourses of Paedophilia

If social forces constructed paedophilia, that would suggest it is not something fixed for all time. How do you see and describe it now? Is it evolving and, if so, into what?

I would say that there are at present three—probably more, but certainly three—major forms of discourse, or ways of encoding adult-child sexual experiences. You can also say that there are a multiplicity of discourses within each of these discourses, and that none are straightforward or clear cut. They also proliferate, change and jostle with each other.

Now, one is a "paedophilia" language, of which I suppose *Paidika* is one embodiment. It talks about love, and clearly has a positive image of these relationships described in many different ways, though they are seen as complicated. This language is largely concerned with man-boy love, and it has a minimum organization around it. It's a discourse which is almost taboo; it functions in small worlds, it doesn't function outside of those worlds very much.

Then there is the currently dominant discourse, which is "child sexual abuse". The child sexual abuse discourse is the one people adopt when they start thinking about adults and children and sex. It excludes the possibility of even talking about paedophilia as a love relationship. It inexorably draws the paedophilia discourse into it and doesn't engage in it the way paedophiles would engage it in their own terms.

The child sexual abuse discourse has been around for a long time, in the child molester image and so forth. But it really has become now a major discourse, especially in the U.S. and in England. It became a very big issue by 1986, although it was already an issue by 1978 when the Paedophile Information Exchange was accused of child molestation. But the real institutions of the child sexual abuse industry were set up in England around 1986 because of the Cleveland scandals which hit the papers day after day after day. There was an enormous coverage, allegations of massive abuse apparently going on in Middlesboro.

The child sexual abuse discourse is obviously a very important discourse. It raises issues that were being neglected. That is to say, I have no doubt that there are large numbers of children being forced by adults into sexualities that they do not want, and which cause them scars and pains. Yes, it's a very important discourse, but that said, my worry about it is that it traps all the other discourses. It doesn't allow any notion of a benign adult-child love to come into it. No way is permitted for debating issues around love, or consent. Those involved in the child abuse campaign deal in atrocity stories and escalating statistics; they play up particularly the image of a really small, helpless child that is powerless. And of course, nobody—at least I don't think anybody in their right mind—would advocate relationships between big, strong adults and powerless infants, but this is offered by the child abuse campaign as the only possibility!

The third discourse is the childhood sexuality discourse, which I suppose is the one that I'm most interested in now. Both the paedophiles and the child abuse lobbyists touch upon this, but never in a complex way. For many of the people who use the paedophile language, the child is sexual, and the child's sexual needs need to be tended to. They say, the child is sexual and we're the ones to meet those sexual needs. These two thoughts don't follow logically at all, but you often hear that in the paedophile discourse.

And of course, in the main, the child sexual abuse lobby doesn't see the child as sexual at all. By denying the child's sexuality they construct an

image which is in itself, I think, abusive, namely that children have no sexual or sensual needs. And certainly they cannot make any decisions about their erotic lives. Yes, the child sexual abuse lobby abuses children by denying them any kind of sexuality, and in the process can cause them a lot of suffering.

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These three discourses are all talking about related phenomenon, but in radically different ways. The abuse lobby brought out the fact that real abuse was going on, but they overstated their case and created an hysteria. The paedophile discourse sometimes over-romanticizes and often is self-deluding. A large amount of paedophile writing talks as if there is a sort of natural gravitation, that things are very wonderful and there's a lot of care and love. Realistically a lot of it is not like that at all. My own preference of the three would be to look at childhood sexuality.

I could add that there is a fourth discourse, which uses the phrase intergenerational sexuality. This is a much broader phrase, which is slowly creeping into the language, but which is much decried by the child abuse campaign because they see it as another way of defending adult-child sexual relations. But it is much bigger, because it doesn't just deal with adult-child, it also deals with very old adults and much younger adults. It also includes older women and young men. People don't like that sort of thing, you know, older women and younger men. They laugh at it. They don't think it's a good thing: it's bound to break up, it can't last, the man's motives are questionable, etc., etc. In our culture you are expected to move around with people your own age. The elderly move around together, the young move around together, the middle-aged move around together. We regard it as odd to step over that boundary erotically, and we regard it as disgraceful.

*phenomena

*woman

It is less of a taboo when you have a much older man with a much younger woman. It's quite acceptable—perhaps looked at a little askance, but nevertheless relatively respectable—for an older man to have a relationship with a younger women. That fits into a certain gender hierarchy. As a sociologist I try to construct a category which would enable me to see the spectrum of things happening within tabooed relationships between people not roughly within the same age category. Likewise, I have tried to relate these other categories of intergenerational relationships to paedophile relationships.

Childhood Sexuality

Your most recent interest and work has been in the area of childhood sexuality. What are your views about childhood sexuality?

One of my concerns during the mid-1980's was with the process by which children currently construct their sexuality. What is a child's sexuality like? I don't take the view that the child is either naturally sexual or naturally nonsexual. There is nothing biologically given in either the adult or the child. Children build up their sexual meanings through the groups they move around with. Girls develop them in some ways and boys in other ways, depending upon the ways in which girls and boys are treated differently. It is also important that there are always adults around responsible for giving children sexual messages.

The child has to interpret its body. It has to make sense of its feelings. It has to make sense of its genitals. It has to make sense of its relationships. Children are given complicated messages by adults, educational messages, about language, about just ways of conducting their lives, for example. But as for the body, or the emotions and the interpersonal they are not given messages. They are given great big gaping voids into which all sorts of negative things rush in. They are not given clear messages. So, the children grow up stumbling around sexually and interpersonally.

I am not talking here about giving children straightforward sex manuals. What I'm saying is that there are all sorts of subtle messages that

adults give off to children and that therefore, the first area to be considered is the way in which adult sexualities impinge upon children. This goes back to my point about the child sexual abuse lobby perpetuating another abuse by not seeing the child's need to make sense of it's sexual world, or even recognize that there was such a sexual world for the child.

Perhaps the clearest example I can give of this is those young men and women who grow up thinking that they could be gay. They have no resources at all to turn to for dealing with the issue. Most young people really can't turn to their mothers and fathers and say: "Look, I think I fancy the same sex. What should I do about it, how can you help me?" They don't say that sort of thing in the main.

Of course, very often young children are attracted erotically to other young children, but there's no climate to talk about it for them. Actually, we don't know an awful lot about children's sexual feelings. I might be supposing that young children are attracted to other young children; I don't know that. But it seems plausible that they might well find some of their closest friends to be emotionally and interpersonally attractive and they would like to be involved in a closer way with them. This would be complicated for them and not like adult sexuality.

Most young people really can't turn to their mothers and fathers and say: "Look, I think I fancy the same sex. What should I do about it, how can you help me?"

In a forthcoming article in the Journal of Homosexuality *you speak about childhood sexuality as a "potential", and even seem to indicate that no such thing exists. But while discussing it right now you were talking about it as a given, in fact a given to which meaning is ascribed. Is there a contradiction between these things?*

It's like using the word "paedophile", isn't it? It's the difference between the social construction and the actuality. Let me try to put this clearly if I can.

I don't think there is any such thing as childhood sexuality, or adult sexuality, straightforwardly. The culture creates prescriptions about what it is to be a child and what it is to be an adult, and about childhood and adult sexualities. I see the child as a set of capacities which roll through life, co-mingling with all sorts of people, friends, parents and other adults, authority figures, even the mass media. The child, right through life into old age, is trying to make some sort of sense of the interpersonal, its body and the sexual, all of which will constantly be changing as they meet new groups. They are constantly redefining themselves in different ways. Some very young children might have quite sophisticated notions of sexuality if they happen to live in that sort of world, and some adults could know nothing at all about sexuality. Individual lives are not going to be encountering the same groups and the same meanings. I don't see sexual development in linear stages or fixed patterns, but rather developing according to differing social contexts.

You're saying then that some children might have a more developed sexuality than some adults? Given that, how would you begin to describe adult-child sexual relationships?

There are in general physical limitations to what people can do with their bodies at particular ages. There are also the physical consequences of doing certain things with your body at certain ages. These set broad boundaries which are given by the body. There are also loose age categorizations which begin to dissolve very quickly after a certain minimal age. We can see it as a struggle for autonomy. Very young infants, as one example, are involved in various struggles of sensuality with their mothers—usually their mothers, not their fathers—to establish who they are and to establish what they like about the world and so forth. Even as infants they are already involved with this struggle, a struggle which goes on throughout life. I'm not sure at what age the cut-off point comes where you can say: That person has reached a certain level of understanding and

they can now function autonomously sexually. I see life as a constant struggle between this craving to be autonomous and make your own decisions about your own sexual demands and in a sense, being drawn into other people's definitions, or constriction, of you.

That was a long introduction, but let me go back to your question. I'm now saying two almost separate things. I don't hold the view that children and adults can do anything they like sexually at any moment. That's just nonsense. Sexual behaviour is socially patterned, profoundly organized and it says that certain things can take place and can't take place. If things take place which shouldn't take place they become engulfed in the social prohibitions. This is bad for the child. So, there will be problems for a child who engages in adult-child sexual relations in a context in which they are known to be bad. If the context were known to be good, it would be quite different.

There was a moment in history when sexualities were not encoded the way they are now and the word paedophile didn't even exist.

There will be problems for the child, and there will be problems for the adult. Are you therefore saying that because of the problems caused by the social strictures these sexual relationships should not take place?

Well, no. It has to be looked at. The same can be said about some homosexual relationships. Many young homosexuals, and many old homosexuals, were wracked with guilt because society said: 'Don't!' To say, 'I don't care what society says, it's perfectly alright for me to engage in this', that is a difficult step to take. It comes with a certain degree of autonomy and self-confidence. A child may not have that as readily as an adult, but nevertheless might under certain circumstances.

In other words, it depends on the point a person is at in their individual development?

Yes. The problem is between personal life and the structural world out there. The structural world out there in all sorts of ways regulates my life, even though I have some control over my personal life and my immediate encounters. You can never divorce an adult-child sexual relationship from that wider culture which views it with hostility.

I studied paedophilia fairly sympathetically in the 1970's, but I also encountered certain strong feminist friends, not the child abuse lobby, but a certain strand of feminist who made it very clear to me that when they were girls the experiences they had with adults were not anything like the experiences being described to me by the adult male paedophiles. The girls were experiencing abuse, they were coming out as abuse survivors and the experiences were traumatic.

There was a parallel for me between coming out as a young gay male and coming out as an abuse survivor. Just as young gays live with this for a long period of time on their own, with no one to tell, filled with guilt, locked in secrecy and shame and all those things, many young girls were living the same way. Their fathers or their stepfathers or a friend of the family, had been systematically forcing them to have sex in ways that they did not like. But they had no one to turn to, they blamed themselves, they felt awful about it and they were living with this, just like the young gays and lesbians were. So, there is a direct parallel. They came out to survivors groups and hotlines to help incest-victims and so forth. And that seemed to me to be very good.

Now, for a while, I had taken on the paedophile language almost lock, stock and barrel, and I was in a sense deceived by the paedophile lobby, by their claim that these relationships were all loving and kind and caring and all the rest of that. Some were abusive. And they were about, particularly in relationship to the girl, male power. That got me into the debate about masculinity, which I think is a very important element in the discourse right now. In the main, there aren't many women making claims for adult-child sexuality.

The feminists claim that adult-child sexual relationships are about men extending more zones of sexual access for themselves. It has nothing at all to do with sexual libertarianism or sexual

freedom. The bottom line of that argument is that all sexuality is male and that therefore the central enemy of women is male sexuality. For these feminists paedophilia becomes the worst form of that. It exposes the fact that adult men are seeking out the youngest people they can find and trapping them in male sexuality and these sorts of power relationships.

I have to say there is a lot in that argument that I find very persuasive about some forms of experience. Where it goes wrong, is that it's once again dreadfully essentialist. It implies that all relationships are like this, all sexuality is male, all women are the objects of male desire, all men have an urge, an inner impulse of aggressive sexuality. That's just not true. Structurally, it's nearer the truth than not. But it's not true individually.

You take your ideas from feminism which has a certain agenda. Isn't this the same as taking your criticisms of paedophilia only from the child abuse lobby, or, we might add, your positive views only from paedophiles. You are criticizing paedophiles, standing back from them objectively and saying that not every relationship is loving. That's certainly true. But you seem to be going beyond that, over to the feminist point of view, just as you said you were too much influenced by the paedophiles.

I did state reservations: by saying their argument was too essentialist. Also, I should add, large numbers of feminists don't hold that view. It's a view common to particularly revolutionary feminists. I have to admit though that I'm very sympathetic to that position. They made different images for me from what the paedophiles had made. The image was more abusive. That large numbers of relationships between adult men and little girls and little boys inside families quite frequently were abusive. It's probably correct that the child is trapped in the family, has no way out of it. The child has no choice in the matter.

Now you have suddenly shifted the terms of the discussion from paedophilia to incest. Aren't incest relationships different in kind from paedophile relationships?

Incest relationships are in a different category from paedophile relationships. But they are useful in our understanding certain things. One strong image I got was a girl being coerced into sexuality, coming to see herself as having no way of saying no, dreading it and all the rest. I have accepted that image. When feminists describe it I can identify with it.

Even in 1978 and 1979, I made a constant distinction between child abuse and paedophilia. At the same time I took over completely a notion I got from the paedophile movement and which I could identify with, that there are many adult men, mostly men, who have been denied any kind of contact with children. They find that they are very fond of children and would do no harm to a child, might only remotely want an erotic relationship with a child if the child clearly wants to be affectionate, and would do nothing to harm the child. That is one, positive image I would now oppose with the feminist's image. There's quite a distance between the two positions.

Let me say, I'm not at all happy with the paedophile movement when it sounds to me like it's double dealing, when it says: 'We are for children's rights. We love children,' but then in some way is trying to impose its definitions upon the child's desire. I don't like the idea of the adult imposition of meaning on the child.

In our culture you are expected to move around with people your own age.

There are many paedophile points of view. Not all of them are self-pleading.

I wish I could develop a better language to talk about this. You know, that's the constant problem. I'm trying to recognize that there is good and bad in both positions. There are multiplicities of feminist and paedophile positions, and they are at war with each other all the time about these things. I was quoting the revolutionary feminists, but even then they wouldn't always agree with each other.

The book I am now writing is about these de-

bates. It recognizes the importance of the social construction of different patterns of desire and the need to have politics around them, the need for identities to crystalize around them, for cultures to develop strongly within them, and for all sorts of sexualities to be recognized that hitherto haven't been. So much sexuality is denied us by deep structures of sexual hatred, by people not being allowed to explore different aspects of sexuality.

I am equally concerned with the politics of sexism and gender and the way in which you can see throughout many cultures that there has been a regular exclusion of women from all the key points of power, control, of government, of almost everything you can find. It's overwhelmingly women that seem to get the brunt of male sexualities. I term this the politics of defilement, and the former the politics of desire.

The trouble is, the politics of desire, what some people feel they want erotically, is very often the politics of defilement on the other side, when people are forced to do what they don't want. How much proliferation of desire is possible? The politics of defilement seems to lead to a denial of sexual intercourse, which becomes the ultimate degradation of women. And, as I argued before, child abuse campaigns become the ultimate denial of the personhood of children. There has to be a way of resolving these two positions.

My position is that both should be kept going simultaneously. Sexism, patriarchy, and the degradation of women need to be guarded against, but not at the expense of getting rid of desire. That is too extreme. And the proliferation of desires is important, but not when it results in the degradation of women or children.

Paedophilia, child sexual abuse, and childhood sexualities are constantly moving between these poles of desire and defilement. There is no straightforward path. I cringe when I hear, what should I call them, revolutionary paedophiles, or revolutionary feminists, defend one position to the exclusion of the other.

PAIDIKA NEWS

As of this issue *Paidika* has undergone a restructuring. We are pleased to inform our readers that a new Foundation has been established, the Stichting Paidika Foundation, which has now assumed ownership. The purpose of the foundation is three-fold: to publish *Paidika* and other material; to create funds and grants for research; and to establish an archive on paedophilia and childhood sexuality. A brochure is being printed with more information and will be mailed automatically to our subscribers, or on request to our readers.

Our Editorial Board has been altered. Co-founder and Co-Editor Donald Mader has had to resign for personal reasons. His editorial expertise helped shape this journal and will be missed. We are pleased to welcome three new members to our board. Sjull Deckwitz is a well known Dutch Lesbian feminist poet. She has published *Niet wachten op ontspanning*, and a new book will appear this autumn. She is also a Member of the Board of the Paidika Foundation. Will W. H. Ogrinc * teaches history at the Hogeschool Rotterdam & Omstreken (F.E.O.) in Rotterdam. He is the author of many essays published in various Dutch journals and books, and is currently at work on a series of articles for us on the boy figure in art. The first, about Charles Filiger, appeared in Issue 4, and the second, about Antonio Mancini, will appear in Issue 7. The Dutch political scientist Marjan Sax is a feminist sex activist. She is the Co-Editor with Sjull Deckwitz of the forthcoming special issue of *Paidika* (Issue 8) "Women and Paedophilia", the first work of its kind. Our Editorial Board is very active in giving advice and setting policy. We feel that having women on our board is essential for creating sensitivity to their issues and criticisms.

We very proudly wish to congratulate four members of our Editorial Board for their achievements. Dr. Edward Brongersma has published the second volume of his monumental work, *Loving Boys*, which Jan Schuijer will review in Issue 7. Dr. Lex van Naerssen and Dr. Theo Sandfort have both been awarded their hard earned PhD degrees from Utrecht University. Lawrence A. Stanley was the recipient of the 1989 H.L. Mencken Award, Best Investigative Story of 1988, for his article "The Child Pornography Myth." An earlier version of this appeared in *Paidika* 2.

***Will H.L. Ogrinc (see p.1 of this issue, and his articles in *Paidika* 4 and 7)**

BACABOZLIK: BOYLOVE, FOLKSONG AND LITERATURE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Ingeborg Baldauf

In Islamic tradition, Central Asia has had the reputation of being the region of boylove. Paederasty is said to have been introduced into Bagdad from Chorasan in the east, and even as early as the 9th and 10th century C.E. Afghanistan was regarded as the source of not only the loveliest boys, but of boylove itself.[1]

"Boygame"—why choose this particular translation for the Uzbek term *bacabozlik* (in Persian, *bacabozi*)? The *bacaboz*, or 'boy-game player', is a male adult whose hobby is the association with boys, in parallel to the *budanaboz*, who enjoys himself with watching races, the *qimorboz* with gambling and the *zanakaboz* with women. I have avoided rendering *bacabozlik* as "paedophilia" because this term carries too many connotations that do not fit Central Asian boylove. "Boylove", on the other hand, gives too vague a picture of the phenomenon described here. 'Boygame' has the advantage of being an autochthonous term, which offers a glimpse of the character of *bacabozlik*: although, as we shall see, the phenomenon has as many dark sides as bright sides, this translation preserves the element of pastime, of play.

This study will focus on the boygame among the Uzbeks of Afganistan. While the boygame in the Central Asian Transoxiana can not be separated phenomenologically from the Afghan-Uzbek practice, information about *bacabozlik* was much more accessible on the Afghan side of the border. The phenomenon was readily apparent in Afghanistan in the 1970's (and even in post-revolutionary Afghanistan as late as the summer of 1978). In what is now Soviet Central Asia, however, 'enlightened' movements bearing the marks of Eurocentrism had begun attacking the boygame from the time that region was incorporated into the Czarist empire. This campaign succeeded in the first decade after the Bolshevik revolution, after a decades-long, bitter fight, and since the 1930's the phenomenon of *bacabozlik* officially does not exist there any more, not even as the object of academic research; the generation who are now thirty do not know anything concrete about the term—at least not as far as those who belong to the Tashkent intellectual elite are concerned. Perhaps *bacabozlik* among the Uzbeks of Afghanistan will go through a similar eclipse, as it was going through a decline already only a few years after the Afghan revolution.

All my remarks about the Afghano-Uzbek boygame pertain to a period which ended shortly after the April-revolution of 1978. Several times between 1975 and 1977 I had a limited opportunity—and from March through July 1978 a particularly intensive one—to get to know different aspects of the phenomenon of the boygame during field research in Afghanistan. *Bacabozlik* was not the actual subject of my studies. Accordingly, I did not make consistent observations, let alone collect data systematically, and my knowledge of the phenomenon has remained fragmentary. Nevertheless it seems proper to summarize and present even this incomplete and unsystematic knowledge. First, it is likely that the boygame in post-revolutionary Afghanistan will be granted only a short life and that unhindered opportunity to study the phenomenon will not be possible again; second, the persistent silence of sociologists who are more competent than I does not adequately reflect the broad meaning that *bacabozlik* has in Afghan Uzbek social life.

In describing the phenomenon of the boygame, I have ventured somewhat outside my actual field of interest. I came to Afghanistan to do research on the folksongs of the Uzbeks. In the songs I was studying there was such pervasive evidence of the boygame that my interest was gradually aroused. Uzbek folksong and the boygame are related to

each other on several levels: precise knowledge of the boygame was indispensable for understanding many lyrics, and, moreover, was essential for an understanding of the reasons why certain songs were sung, when, and by whom. There are such important connections between the boygame and folksong that the folklorist's interest must include *bacabozlik*.

The literary scholar's interest in the boygame is more indirect. Uzbek literature, from the products of early Jadid literature and journalism through the journalistic satires of the late 1920's, has repeatedly taken up and worked on the theme of *bacabozlik*. However, the literary handling of the phenomenon differs fundamentally from that in folklore: that is to say, while folksongs are vitally connected with the boygame, literary creations are always opposed to it. Therefore the Uzbek literary witnesses that are introduced in the appendix do not add to our knowledge of the phenomenon, but always reflect public opinion about the phenomenon (or at least what their authors felt this opinion should be).

The boygame in Afghanistan is not limited to the Uzbeks. Rather, *bacabozi* is well known among other population groups as well, although it is not practised everywhere with the same intensity. The different groups simply shove the reputation of '*bacaboz*' back and forth among themselves, for example in nicknames for the population of a particular region.[2] Most Afghans agree that the "worst" *bacaboz* were living in Mazari Sharif, in the north-central region (and therefore in the Uzbek settlement area). With some justification, the population of this region are widely reputed as "players", equally devoted to games of chance, animal betting and, in our case, to *bacabozlik*.

According to my own observations, made in the three North West provinces of Faryab, Jowzjan and Balkh (the latter having Mazari Sharif as its administrative centre), one third to half of the male Uzbek population has been involved with the boygame at some point in their lives, be it as a dancing boy (*baca*), as a boylover (*bacaboz*), or first as *baca* and later as *bacaboz*.

My attempt to comprehend the whole phenomenon of the boygame, including its folkloristic and literary aspects, was divided into three sections. To begin, the phenomenon is described from the viewpoint of the outside observer who is mentally uninvolved; in that section I shall try to present as many objectively recordable facts as possible, the way they came before my own eyes. Next, the attitudes of those who are affected by the boygame will be rendered in three sections, where I will report what I could learn from speaking to *baca*, *bacaboz* and outsiders who are mentally involved, about their viewpoints on the boygame. My attempt to compare the modern boygame of the Afghan Uzbeks with similar phenomena was intended as an incentive to more penetrating investigations; this section is not included in this article. In its place, an appendix on the fate of *bacabozlik* in presentday Soviet Uzbekistan will form a third chapter here. *

Bacabozlik: The Afghano-Uzbek Boygame

How does a boy become a *baca*, or "dancing-boy"? (I use this translation, which refers to only one function of the *baca*, to avoid the word "lust-boy", which in my opinion is filled with too many, in this case negative, value judgements.) There are two basic requirements he must meet.

First, he must be the right age. One can only be a *baca* during the time of physical puberty, which roughly applies to the period between the 11th and 18th year. The 'best' years (the term *hadd* that is used, in ordinary speech means "prime aging time of fruit, etc." and "climax of the season") are considered the time from 12 to 16 years. To take a boy as a *baca* before the beginning of puberty is viewed as a sin (*guno*)—a rather ironic assessment, considering that in Islam intercourse between any persons of the same sex can hardly be regarded as moral. On the other hand, a youth whose facial hair is clearly visible and whose voice has assumed adult timbre is denoted as ugly, and is no longer acceptable as a *baca*.

The second requirement is a minimum amount of specific training for this profession. The boy should be able to dance and sing songs, and have a certain familiarity with traditional Uzbek culture, particularly with Persian and Chagatay literature, in which the children are instructed by a traditional teacher (*mullo*). In general, the boy

*present-day

should have good manners and should be a pleasant, presentable companion.

How does a boy who fulfills both requirements enter the *bacaboz*-scene?

One path, not often taken, is for the boy to attract the attention of a *bacaboz* at an event outside of the scene, such as a wedding or some kind of "Verdienstfest", because of his pleasant nature and his gift for dance or song. The man falls in love with him and tries to win him over. This path always requires the agreement of the boy's father, without which participation in *baca*-activity is per definition impossible. If the father does not give his permission—perhaps because of principles, or because the boy "is still too young"—the *bacaboz* can still display his admiration for the boy and fulfill a side of the boygame which does not presuppose the availability of the boy (more about that later). This is, however, considered compromising for the frustrated *bacaboz*, and is only accepted if it can clearly be seen as a temporary, preliminary stage of an eventual relationship.

The father determines if his son should become a *baca* when the time for that has come. Indeed, a more frequent route is for the father himself to take the initiative in introducing his son into the scene, without any invitation from a third party. This often happens because the father belongs to the scene himself, and does not want to pass up the social and financial possibilities that present themselves to boys in the scene. The father thus plays the role of "souteneur", both in a positive and in a negative sense: he takes care that the boy is not endangered through internal squabbles within the scene; he negotiates the terms of erotic-financial transactions; he retains the money, passing on only a certain amount to his son for spending.

In both the ways mentioned so far, the decision is made voluntarily, at least by the father. There is also a third, involuntary path by which boys enter the *bacaboz*-scene, which the boy and family alike try to avoid, but which nonetheless must be taken by many a boy for economic reasons: the pawning of a boy to a creditor of the family who in turn makes the boy a *baca*. In pre-revolutionary Afghanistan small farmers and wage-labourers without land very easily became debtors and dependent on a creditor. One method of paying off their debts—analogous to selling girls for marriage—was pawning boys. In the best case, the creditor was a *bacaboz* himself, who took pleasure in the boy and took him as his *baca*, without, however, the boy receiving any financial benefits. In the worst case, the boy fell into the hands of a professional pimp or was passed on to such a person by the creditor. Boys who are the property of a pimp are always taken to other parts of the country, where they don't have any family contacts and can be exploited by the pimp as he pleases. I have heard about pimps who keep a whole string of *baca* like animals in hole-like stables, making them available in the most degrading of conditions to anyone who comes along seeking an affair. In this way the boys become physically debilitated, and, after the pimp has made as much out of them as he can, he leaves them to themselves in strange surroundings without any financial compensation or the possibility of returning to their families.

Such abuses—and they are seen as such—can not be described in more detail, because understandably there is not much that can be learned about boy-prostitution under such circumstances. It is generally acknowledged that this sector is atypical and quantitatively irrelevant to the total phenomenon of *bacabozlik*. As a rule, the boy remains under the supervision of his father, and remains in contact with the father even after having entered the care of a *bacaboz* whom the father has found worthy of a steady relationship with his son.

What are the usual activities of a *baca*? As has already been made clear above when mentioning the requirements for entering the scene, the boy-lovers primarily require pleasant company from the *baca*. The *baca* should spend considerable time with the *bacaboz* (even though he normally continues to live with his family); he should accompany him to social gatherings in the scene (called *majlis*, "meetings"); at these events he should dance and sing if the situation calls for it. As far as physical favors are concerned, the *bacaboz* at least expects little kisses and small acts of tenderness.

The demand for passive participation by the *baca* in anal-genital or intercrural intercourse is an exception, and seems to signal the end of a relationship, the point after which the relationship between *baca* and *bacaboz* is no longer maintained. Where prostitution is involved, intercourse obviously plays a far greater role than in the mainstream of the subculture.

Baca who are new to the scene, either because it is their first contact with the boygame, or through moving from another place (*baca* who are controlled by pimps are sent "on tour" to make the market more lively and earn better pay as interesting newcomers[3]), can gather around themselves a considerable circle of prospective admirers. The first thing they do is prove their talent for dance and song at several *majlis*, which may be organised on their behalf by the pimp or a *bacaboz*, and show themselves to be as attractive as possible.

Appropiate clothing and cosmetics play a considerable role in the way the boy presents himself. The appearance of the *baca* is to a large extent modelled on that of little girls: the boy wears wide-cut pants (*iston*) made from fine, if possible white cloth; over that a colourful robe (*kujlaj*) with a fitted waist and long sleeves, and an embroidered little hood on the head (*toqqi*). Finally come the typical *baca*-accoutrements, a wide belt that accentuates the waist and that makes the coat-tails swirl advantageously (*kamarcin*), and ankle-rings with little bells (*zang*) that underscore the rhythm of the dance by their sound. Some boys wear little caps with false corkscrew-curls hanging from their edge; these curls are considered especially frivolous. Makeup and jewelry correspond to those of girls.

Although the boys are made to look like girls in their dress and make-up, their style of dancing differs widely from that of girls and women. The latter dance in a very stately manner, with small steps and arms stretched out high in front, to a rhythm that is determined by a drum with bells (*tavla*, *dojra*). The *baca* on the other hand swirl around with arms stretched out to the side and stamp forcibly in rhythm with the accompanying instruments (lute = *dumbira*, and small cymbals = *tol zang*).

While the boy is dancing, the first contact takes place between him and a prospective *bacaboz*, mostly on the initiative of the man. (The boylovers do not dance themselves; while they do sometimes join in the singing, generally they just sit around the dance-space and at most clap along with the beat.) Even at this first contact the *baca* can count on receiving some money. While the boy is dancing (at bigger events there are larger numbers of boys), his admirers throw him money to catch his attention, or beckon him over to attach paper money to his clothes, thus establishing physical contact. A cunning boy can take advantage of the rivalry of a number of *bacaboz* and through well-timed advances can lead the admirers into a veritable auction mood, where he makes the highest possible profit with the lowest possible effort.

If a *baca* remains for too long without a steady relationship, this will affect his reputation. He runs the risk of being classified as unattractive, or, even worse, loose, and thus creates the possibility of forfeiting a relatively quiet, profitable, long-term relationship. Such a long-term relationship is considered desirable in the scene, and thus the boys that are not bound to a pimp at one point or another enter a long-term relationship. As has been mentioned, it is the father of the boy, hardly ever the boy himself, that decides if the friendship with a certain *bacaboz* should be made.

If the father agrees, the *bacaboz* considers the boy from then on as "his" *baca*, or to be more precise, as his *uka*, which literally means "younger brother". The mutual terms of address of admirer and boy are *uka* and *aka*, that is "younger brother" and "older brother" respectively. These terms are not used as a form of address outside of a steady mutual relationship; within the relationship they are used in every case though. *Aka* and *uka* do not address each other with an informal "you", at least not in somebody else's presence. A certain disdain would resonate with this form of address, which is not proper to the relationship between them.

More will be said about the obligations of a long-term relationship. For now it is sufficient to note that the boy lets the *bacaboz* support him as well as his means allow. The admirer takes care of

the food and clothing as well as the various hobbies of his *uka*. As a rule he does not provide him with shelter, but the boy continues living with his own family.

Through discord between the partners, infidelity by one of them (usually the *baca*), insolvency of the *bacaboz*, or simply through the youth leaving the scene on account of his age, the bond of friendship between *aka* and *uka* ends. Ideally the relationships remain all through the time that a *baca* is active as such; there are even those that are continued afterwards on a different level. If, however, the partnership breaks up earlier, the boy is available again for the "market", at the social dance-rounds that are without further obligations. To drop out of the scene prematurely takes away the chances of profit for the *baca*; accordingly this rarely occurs.

However, as soon as a *baca* can no longer remain in the scene because of his age or his physical maturity, he finds himself forced to switch to a lasting trade. But very few *baca* have learned one: their occupation was too strenuous (especially in the case of *baca* who were dependent on pimps) for them to have had time and energy for learning a trade. Moreover, a *baca* whose affairs run well often does not recognize the necessity to learn a trade that has a future.

The ones who have the least difficulty in switching into "normal" ways of earning a living are the *baca* who came from the class of large landowners and traders. They can take possession of their inheritance or start working with their fathers, and despite a delay of about ten years compared to others, they can still gather the professional experience necessary for their future.

Those *baca* who have had a "normal" *baca*-life within a stable, long-lasting relationship are also able to make the change rather easily. They usually have been able to gather some experience in a usable trade, for example as an associate, seller, etc. in the business of their *aka*.

In many cases both of these favourable conditions coincide. *Baca* from the upper classes are especially attractive as partners for long-lasting relationships because of their implicit financial independence. By the same token, they can be deliberate in their choice of an *aka*, and do not have to let their activity as *baca* preoccupy their time.

A few *baca* who are especially gifted musically are able to make the transition to a professional career as singer or musician. They have had an excellent preparation for these activities through their *baca* years. According to their own statements, the most famous among the Uzbek singers and instrumentalists that I met had once been *baca*.

However, those *baca* who find employment neither in their father's business nor in a trade are in a difficult position when they end their "career". In this time of transition they run a great risk of sliding into crime. They have no savings at their disposal, or only a limited amount; on the other hand they have become accustomed to an expensive lifestyle during their financially secure *baca* years. To continue providing themselves with the necessary means many former *baca* turn to gambling, or risk punishment for theft or robbery.

When a *baca* has managed the transition to a new career, he will have no difficulties specifically related to his past as a dancingboy.[4] For example, when acquiring a bride and founding a family, he does not find himself at a disadvantage compared to other young men that were never active as *baca*: if he can pay the required dowry, the bride will not be denied to him. The objection that is often raised by "enlightened" people who are negative about the boygame, that a father with self-respect out of principle would not give his daughter to a former *baca*, has to be viewed with extreme reservation. Logically, that reaction would lead to endogamy and the presence of a "*baca*-caste" among the Uzbeks—and there is no question of that. Conversely, because many fathers do give their daughters to former *baca*, the picture emerges of an accepting social milieu (with a few exceptions in the form of "honourable" families) in which one is among one's own kind as a *bacaboz* anyhow, and therefore one can also give a daughter to a *baca*. The majority of the Uzbeks obviously view the *baca*-phenomenon as an acceptable, passing activity that does not exclude someone from the possibility of founding a family within the framework of their society.

In reality, it is usually an economic and not a moral reason that prevents a former *baca* from

founding a family. Usually the bad financial situation of the former *baca* (and his family) makes buying a bride a remote possibility. With that begins a vicious circle for the young man. He cannot begin a legal heterosexual relationship, which in his society is shaped by the Islamic ideal of early marriage and the appeasing of natural sexual urges, and, despite the existence of the institution of *qalliq* in small parts of the region occupied by the Uzbeks, for almost all young men such a relationship can be found only in marriage.[5]

To start illegal heterosexual relationships is both difficult and dangerous. There is hardly any female prostitution, and severe sanctions exist against adultery.

What could be more logical, given these difficulties, than that the young man find a way out by joining a circle of *bacaboz*! A bride is very expensive; the costs of the boygame on the other hand are low, at least in the beginning. Particularly by resorting to boy prostitution, financial expenses can be kept low. But once a young man has started to associate with *baca*, the small income that he has will be spent totally on payments and gifts that he gives the boy, or boys. The young man is no longer able to save money to buy a bride. To make up for the sexual deficiencies that arise from his financial ones, he may try to establish a long-term relationship with a *baca*. In this way he becomes a *bacaboz* himself, returning to the scene, which perpetuates itself in this manner.

In many cases a *bacaboz* initially enters the scene because of economic reasons. *Bacabozlik* takes the place of a marital life that is outside one's reach.

But there are also married men in the scene; indeed these form the biggest group among the *bacaboz*. Moreover, among the *bacaboz* there are quite a few who belong to the class of large landowners and big traders, who have not only one, but two or three wives. They can not be moved by the same motives as the unmarried *bacaboz*. This presents a second important aspect of the *bacabozlik* phenomenon. Apart from making up for sexual deficiencies that arise from financial problems, it also makes up for psychological deficiencies. These *bacaboz* look for a replacement for personal bonds that marital- and family-life can not offer, and find it in association with boys.

At this point it is appropriate to make a small detour into the problems in the lives of women and in family-life, in order to understand why true personal bonds between married partners are usually not established. To be female in the Uzbek society of Afghanistan begins negatively. While the birth of a boy is a big event for a family and assures that the prestige of the young mother is raised considerably, the birth of a girl is hardly noticed and doesn't raise the mother any higher in the family hierarchy. The son might one day become the lord of the family; accordingly the mother pampers him and tries to win his favour and increase her influence on him, in order to be able to establish her own power solidly within the family later on through him. A daughter on the other hand will leave the house early on. She is of no use to the mother; quite the contrary, to give birth to her and raise her means many additional burdens that do not bring any profit. Therefore, the mother-daughter relationship is usually troubled; any positive relationship between daughter and father that is worth mentioning exists only, if at all, in early childhood, because the father can show off his pretty little daughter in the circle of friends and guests. Later on the daughter disappears almost completely from the father's view. She has no economic value to him until she reaches puberty. Then the "investment" that the family made by feeding and raising the daughter should pay off in the form of a high dowry, the earlier the better. It is not exceptional to marry off an 11 or 12 year old daughter, and 14 is considered the ideal age for marriage.

If the girl is lucky, she will be sold to an unmarried (perhaps even young) man. In her new family such a girl can reckon on having only one potential enemy: her mother-in-law, who sees the bride primarily as her rival for her son's favour and does everything in her power to make sure that a warm relationship between the bride and bridegroom will not grow. The younger the bride and the older the bridegroom, the easier this is to do. Even a regular wedding night can be prevented by the mother-in-law, by the argument that the bride isn't mature enough physically. This is often actually true: there are many cases in which a girl-woman is injured gravely in the

course of a rape that is sanctioned by marriage, as well as many cases of grave physical damage or even death because of a premature pregnancy and birth. The deeper motives of the mother-in-law are directed less at the well-being of the daughter-in-law than at delaying her child-bearing. The later the young woman has her own son, the later will her husband's esteem for her increase and her place in the family-hierarchy improve, thus reducing the mother-in-law's influence. Further, a daughter-in-law without a son has to perform a great amount of work, because she has to justify the great costs incurred by her purchase. In this way she takes a burden off the mother-in-law's shoulders, who can pass off her own load onto her daughter-in-law.

If the girl ends up with a husband that already has one wife or even two, her position will accordingly be even worse. The crowding is too great for her to acquire influence on the man and thus obtain power in the family. In any way that is in their power, her rivals will prevent a good relationship from arising between the newly wedded couple. This can even go so far as killing a child to whom the newest wife has given birth. At least, however, the moral pressure that the women exert on each other makes sure that no one among them acquires power in a "cheap" way by having a close emotional bond with the husband: women who show interest in their husband are stigmatised as "nymphomaniacs" (*ersaj*), which causes the husband to withdraw from them in order not to lose face.

In a climate where the relationship among women is so poisoned by the mechanisms of mutual oppression, it is unlikely that the man could achieve psychological satisfaction either. It is perhaps only a small step to escape to the circle of other men and to the boygame.[6] Whether it is actually possible to compensate for the psychological deficiencies of marriage through the boygame, or how such a compensation would take place, must be dealt with later. First, however, we must consider other reasons for which a man might enter the boygame.

Naturally the question arises whether prospective *bacaboz* might have pre-existing homosexual inclinations. I believe this factor plays a lesser role than those already mentioned, and is also less important than that which shall be discussed below. Homosexual acts among adult men are seen as very grave offenses, and are subject to the same heavy sanctions as illegal heterosexual intercourse. Because of this, it is possible that men with homosexual inclinations in fact take refuge in *bacabozlik*. But it is not obvious how primary, pre-existing, and secondary, cultivated, inclinations should be distinguished. It is doubtful whether those concerned either could or do make such a distinction themselves, and I have not tried to direct questions to this issue.

There is certainly, however, another reason that can move men to enter the *bacabozlik*-scene. The boygame is not only a substitute for sexual or psychological needs that can not be fulfilled heterosexually. It is also pursued because it fulfills certain social goals. In some sense it is actually a social requirement, one of the activities in which the male Uzbek population participates as part of their social life.

Among the Uzbeks, *bacaboz*-rounds are one form of "Verdienstfest". Moreover, there can be no big "Verdienstfest" of any kind without the participation of *baca*. *Bacabozlik* fits very well with the character of Uzbek weddings, circumcision-feasts and various kinds of "Verdienstfest" alike, insofar as they are all disproportionately expensive. This makes the boygame an extremely prestigious matter: in the boygame the *bacaboz* can publicly display his wealth in a conspicuous manner, such as otherwise could be done only by pious donations like the construction of a mosque or a bridge, which would be too much for the purse of almost all Uzbeks. The boygame gives the *bacaboz* the opportunity to squander vast sums of money, thereby winning prestige within his peer-group.

Viewed with reference to wealth and status, the behavior of the two types of *bacaboz* whom we have noted above can clearly be distinguished. Corresponding to the reasons for a man's entry into the scene, the goals of *bacaboz*-activity differ. Unmarried young men who need to compensate for their lack of sexual outlets generally change their *baca* more often. This means that the typical *aka-uka* relationship never develops. Older or

married *bacaboz*, on the other hand, seek a long-term relationship in which the emotional components play a more important role than the sexual ones, and in which the financial element in the transaction with the *baca*, which confers social prestige, is nothing less than a *sine qua non*.

The *bacaboz* who wants a long-term relationship does not choose the cheap, immediate access to a *baca* available from pimps. Rather, he looks around thoroughly in the scene, visits several dance-rounds (*majlis*), gives gifts to one lovely little dancer and another, and thus makes himself known as an attractive partner. Finally he starts directing special gifts to the one *baca* with whom he would like to establish a relationship. Because of this special attention the rivalry of other *bacaboz* is awakened: a boy who is worth so much energy also becomes attractive to potential rivals. Thus the *bacaboz*, in order to outdo his opponents, must invest money and goods (mostly fancy clothing), even before the relationship has been established.

Later on it can become even more expensive. The *baca* may put pressure on his *aka* by threatening to leave him. The *bacaboz* wants to avoid this, for not only would he lose his partner but he would lose prestige within his *bacaboz*-circle. That would make it difficult for him to seek another attractive *uka*, for the choicest boys do not want to be associated with a *bacaboz* whose status is declining. Hence, the *bacaboz* uses all his means to keep the boy, if he really doesn't want to lose his beloved. He may carry on until he has exhausted his own finances, or even his family-capital and his patrimony. He may pull his wife (wives) and children into ruin with him.

If the situation goes this far, there are only a few ways out for the ruined *bacaboz*. One is crime; another is gambling. The pimps also control gambling, and they accept pledges. If there is no more property for collateral, they will take the debtor's sons as a pledge. We have already seen the consequences this can have for the boys.

However, the *bacaboz* can avoid this by using the spiral of costs to his own advantage. He does so by temporarily sharing his *baca* with another *bacaboz*. He takes the initiative of organising dance rounds and invites *bacaboz* who don't have steady relationships at the moment. In this way he provides his *uka* with a source of income from third parties, though he must also allow (or even demand) the boy make advances to rival *bacaboz*. How risky this situation can be is obvious. Most of the cases of physical injury and murder in the scene are due to jealousy between rival *bacaboz*.

Most *aka-uka* relationships, of course, don't end in such a spectacular or tragic manner. Most often the relationships break up by mutual consent of both partners, or they end because the *baca* matures and leaves the scene.

Nevertheless one must conclude that the sum of dark elements clearly overshadow the happy ones in the boygame. The cause of this doesn't even lie primarily in the visible aspects of the phenomenon.

Bacabozlik and Folksong: Attitudes and their Relativity

Thus far those facets of the boygame which can he confirmed objectively have been described. However, through objective facts alone it is not possible to understand the phenomenon. One must also look at the subjective facets, the attitudes of participants and others concerned. These have two expressions: an individual one, namely the totality of many individual attitudes reported by the participants, and a collective one, that finds expression in folksongs.

Folksongs, as any genre, do not provide evidence for factual descriptions. The superficial theory that reality is reflected in art has proven inadequate for folklore and literature. Song lyrics are very suitable, however, as evidence about attitudes, both conscious and subconscious. Moreover, lyrics which have been preserved in a fixed form over a long period of time may express past attitudes, which now have been forgotten. Songs, then, do not describe a phenomenon, but do reflect attitudes about it. Formal and stylistic requirements presupposed by songs limit the spontaneity of individual expression; moreover, most folksongs are not individual creations, but come from a pre-existing repertoire or are semi-spontaneous expressions put together from parts borrowed from the repertoire. Nevertheless, songs

can provide us with clues about social values, particularly at the time of their origin.

Attitudes of the *Baca*

We should first allow the boys to speak. What do they think about their activities, how do they view the *bacaboz*, and how do they view themselves? Further questions are, which songs do they sing, which show us their attitudes? What function are the songs of the *baca* supposed to have ?

I had the opportunity to talk extensively with about twenty *baca*. Most of them were between eleven and fourteen years old. The youngest one was not yet a *baca*, but had been courted by an admirer; the oldest one was about to exchange his activity as a *baca* for a profession as a singer. The opinions of adults who had once been *baca* are not reported here, as they are too influenced by secondary opinions.

The information I gained was in reverse proportion to the age of the *baca*. While the youngest *baca* spoke very openly about their activity and expressed themselves on all possible aspects, the older ones had clearly been influenced to a higher degree—perhaps reinforced by the presence of a woman—by a taboo against speaking about *bacabozlik*, especially so far as the sexual components are concerned.

In response to direct questions, the majority of the boys asserted that they viewed their occupation as a dancing boy as something quite "normal". In a statistical sense this totally corresponds to the facts: one out of every three boys is at some point at least temporarily involved in the *baca*-profession. The *baca* claimed to be interested only in the financial aspect of the transaction; they did not express themselves either negatively or positively on the emotional and sexual elements.

The *bacaboz* are only interesting to the *baca* as sources of money. Their worth is measured by their willingness and ability to pay. Through generosity and high status within the scene the *aka* wins the esteem of his *uka*. Personal attraction plays a minor role. According to the boys themselves, *baca* are generally satisfied with the *aka* their father approved. They say that the small acts of tenderness that the *aka* asks are given to him unwillingly, or at least without emotion; they are simply part of the deal. To be abandoned by a *bacaboz* is felt to be undesirable, because this exposes one to the mockery of his peer-group and because of the financial disadvantages.

The attitude of the *baca* towards themselves can be described as untroubled: they feel no discomfort about their role. Apart from the fact that they feel they are underpaid, they are content with their activity and do not care that they are dressed as girls and have to give little kisses to men.

Though this was not confirmed in direct conversations, on several occasions I observed an interesting behavioral pattern which the *baca* share with marriageable girls. As soon as it is mentioned in a group, or an adult remarks upon it in their presence, that a boy present in the group has an admirer and might soon start an *aka-uka* relationship, this boy reacts with embarrassment and withdraws. Apparently the boys consider entering a relationship as a transition to a new, strange but not unpleasant phase of life, much as does a girl facing the half-threatening, half-tempting entrance into married life.

The songs sung by the *baca* do not confirm this picture of satisfaction, untroubled except by unhappiness with the pay. All of the aggression that the *baca* can not express physically—because they must appear passive when dressed as girls, and must allow physical advances by the *bacaboz*—erupts sharply in cognitive-verbal form in their songs. As soon as they are among themselves, the favorite songs of the *baca* are filled with mockery and the expression of aggressive homoerotic macho-mannerisms.

Attitudes of the *Bacaboz*

The *bacaboz* were much more reserved than the boys in answering questions concerning their attitudes about the boygame in general, the *baca*, or their own activities. I had the opportunity to talk extensively with at least two dozen active *bacaboz*. I knew some of them so well that we had overcome the general social barriers between men and women, including those involving the discussion of touchy subjects. Nevertheless, I was not able to learn much. On the whole, one has the

impression that the *bacaboz* hardly ever express spontaneous opinions, but that what they say is predetermined by something outside their individual situation.

The attitude of the *bacaboz* comes across quite clearly, though, when dealing with questions on the boygame in general. The *bacaboz* regard the play as something wholly honorable and in no way wrong, as long as certain fundamental rules are observed. For example, the minimum age for the *baca*, about 10 years old, must be respected; the *uka* has a right to brotherly/uncle-like care; and in addition to receiving fair compensation in money and goods, he should be given the opportunity by the *aka* to attend school or the traditional religious education, or even both.

There is a strong reluctance to speak about the sector run by pimps. Some *bacaboz* go so far as to deny its existence, and most describe it as something of very little importance. They often claim that it does not have anything to do with their own participation in the boygame, being something in which only people of bad character are involved. They imply that in that sector sexual elements play a major role, while for their own participation, on the other hand, these are of little importance. The younger *bacaboz*, particularly, pretended not to be interested in sexual activities, while a few older *bacaboz* expressed, in an ironic-cunning way, completely positive attitudes on the physical aspect of their play.

When asked about their own motives for participating in the boygame, the *bacaboz* allege that the boygame is merely one of many forms of entertainment (*tamoso*). There is the advantage, though, that having a lovely *uka* can bring more prestige among friends than, say, having a winning racehorse.

Within *bacaboz*-circles, no individual loses stature in the eyes of another merely for participating in *bacbozlik*. Nevertheless, in the boygame there is a constant risk that a *bacaboz* will make a fool of himself in front of the group. If he lets himself be treated unfairly by a *baca* by refusals of little acts of tenderness, exaggerated demands for money or excessive flirting with other *bacaboz*, or if he exhibits too much longing for a *baca* who does not belong to him, there may be reason to doubt his "manliness" (*mardliq*, regarded as a combination of keeping one's cool self-assertion and ability in financial matters.)

It is clear that the *bacaboz* make an effort to avoid judgments on themselves as boylovers, and instead express views about the phenomena as if speaking from a dissociated, pseudo-objective vantage point. It is hard to know if this is because of a fundamental reserve toward outsiders (especially women), or if it was meant to blunt or refute possible objections from me. In any case, one notices an uncertainty among the *bacaboz* regarding the moral acceptability of the boygame, particularly when they individually reject the thought that it is sinful, if asked about it directly. Obviously there are some self-doubts that plague the *bacaboz*, fed by the rejection of the boygame by "enlightened" individuals (discussed in the next section), and perhaps the fact that the boygame is officially penalized. Anyhow, the attempts to equate the boygame with betting on races and games like the famous *buzkashi*, and to deny a sexual component, seem to be an attempt to anticipate possible accusations by outsiders.

From comments by the *bacaboz* one gets the impression that the *baca* must appreciate the boygame just as much as they, the *bacaboz*, do. But if one recalls how the *baca* expressed dissatisfaction with the financial aspect of the transaction and irritation with the sexual aspect, and if one takes into consideration that many *bacaboz* were previously *baca* themselves, this opinion is surprising. The *bacaboz* really should know better from their own experience! But upon consideration, this assessment by the present *bacaboz* appears more understandable. With the passage of time, the irritations felt by the *baca* fade. Now that they are *bacaboz*, and the money is coming out of their pockets instead of going in, the financial rewards appear more just, and any prior insecurity about one's own male identity appear unfounded once one graduates into the "masculine" role in any given interaction. Reservations which the *bacaboz* may have had during their own *baca*-activity have not been confirmed by the later experiences. Also, the previously mentioned bashfully and joyfully anticipated transition to a new phase of life may play a role here. After all, it is the *aka* who

makes this transition possible for his *uka*, and therefore he may believe that the boy is happy with him and with the play as a whole.

Of greater interest to us than the views of the *bacaboz* about the attitudes of the *baca*, are the attitudes of the *bacaboz* themselves toward the *baca* as the object of admiration and as partners in the boygame.

Actually the *bacaboz* judge the boys very realistically. While they appreciate them as good companions who are especially desirable for providing little acts of tenderness, they also know them to be cunning, calculating and anything but faithful.

All of this is expressed by the *bacaboz* in song lyrics as well. We have already noted that it is usually not the *bacaboz* themselves who sing at their gatherings, the *majlis*. Rather, it is the instrumentalists, usually a lute-player (*dumbiraci*) and a second musician who plays a rhythmical instrument (like the bell-drum *tavla* or the small cymbals *tol zang*). The *bacaboz* themselves join in with the singing only when the emotions rise especially high; otherwise the professional musicians are left to put the boylover's feelings into words.

There is one class of songs, *qusiq*, with simple and direct texts, in a vocabulary chosen from everyday speech. The *qusiq* are grounded in observable reality, regarding both the positive and the negative aspects of the boygame. The boys are described in fresh and vital images; longing and the disappointment of unfulfillment are described directly; frustration calls forth aggression. The *qusiq* are sung to melodies suitable for dancing. Customarily, they are performed while the *baca* are dancing in the presence of the *bacaboz*.

It is dancing, and not singing, which is the purpose of the *majlis*; but nevertheless singing has an important function. The instrumental music, the indispensable and practically ceaseless accompaniment of not only the dancing but of all else that happens (eating, smoking, flirting), becomes boring after some time without singing. Thus, instrumental pieces alternate with those to which lyrics may be sung. The texts of the songs that are performed in the course of an evening need not have anything to do with the immediate situation; during the hours-long singing, it is mostly popular songs which are part of the repertoire of the singer which are sung. But this random character of the *qusiq*-singing can serve the purposes of the *bacaboz* and the *baca* extremely well.

A *bacaboz* who would like to contact a certain boy will join in with the singing and perform one stanza that indicates his intentions. The random character of the singing thus is very handy to him, for now it is up to the *baca* if he wants to respond to the message or not. The boy may make an affirmative, encouraging response, in the form of a song-stanza, or, more often, through body-language. He may also, however, ignore the song, and therefore the *bacaboz* and his proposal, by pretending to have heard or understood the text not as a message to him, but as just some unintentionally sung stanza. In this way the rejected *bacaboz* is saved from a embarrassing brushoff, and may carry on as if nothing had happened. If he consents, the *baca* may use the singing to reach an agreement on the conditions for starting a relationship.

This transcription of the singing during one party illustrates how this works. It begins with a stanza sung by the *bacaboz*, which is then answered by the *baca*, after which they alternate stanzas:

I could not overtake him;
I could not catch him: My little sweetheart went away,
and I could not tell him my desires... If you want to tell him your desires,
He is not yet out of reach! I am waiting, waiting:
but will the coquettish one come? I'm also waiting,
waiting for my *aka*—will he come? Just now we met happily,
both of us—*aka* and *uka*! Only say, "I want to be your *aka*,"
and from now on we are a couple.

After cautious testing in the first two stanzas, there follows an affirmation in the next two that each has understood things correctly, and an agreement in the final two. Incidentally, most of the stanzas that are used in this song were not

created spontaneously by either singer; rather, they are repertoire texts that fit the occasion and are thus available for use. When a *baca* or a *bacaboz* has participated in the scene for some time, he necessarily memorizes a certain basic group of stanzas which he can use at the right moments.

What we have observed so far in the responses of the *bacaboz*, in conversations as well as song-texts, is only one expression of the attitudes of *bacaboz* about the boygame, themselves and the boys. *Bacabozlik* has another side to it for the boy-lovers, very different from the one dealt with so far.

In asking questions about the boygame and the boys, or, to be specific, about the motives for their own participation in the play, I was sometimes confronted with answers which cannot be interpreted as easily as the ones presented so far. For example, in response to what I intended as an entirely practical and factual question to a middle-aged *bacaboz* about why he had taken a *baca* although he had only a very small income at his disposal, the *bacaboz* answered, "Because he has such executioner's eyes!" (*gallot kuzi bor akan*). Instead of mentioning some motive that would lay closer at hand, as in this case his unmarried status caused by financial problems, he used the "executioner's eye", a well known trope from Persian and Turkic classical lyric poetry, to rationalize his own participation in the boygame.

Thus he opens up our view to a dimension of the phenomenon that has not been dealt with so far. Without clarifying this aesthetic-literary dimension our knowledge of the boygame would be incomplete. The existence of such a dimension makes an approach from a purely sociological level inadequate.

The example just mentioned is characteristic of many similar comments by *bacaboz*, in which one can sense attitudes that do not originate with the speaker, but which give the impression of being formulas that were thought out a long time before, part of a tradition which is assumed by the individual. Thus, far removed from the concrete reasons for his entrance to *bacabozlik* there exists for the *bacaboz* another reason, unrelated to objective reality, which is experienced through tradition and in which literary elements and sublimation play an important role. Both explanations are available to the *bacaboz*, and which he chooses apparently depends only on the situation he is in.

A part of the folksong repertoire fits within this second interpretation. (I have deliberately avoided the formulation '...that reflects this second manner of thinking about *bacabozlik*' because we must still consider whether the way of thinking or the song actually came first.) The vocabulary in these songs (*mullosozi*) comes from a poetic diction which has nothing in common with colloquial language. Some of the grammatical forms are also foreign to contemporary usage. The terms in which the *baca* are described are well known tropes of "high" lyric poetry. The attributes that play an important role in them (the beautymark, the parrot-tongue) all would be foreign to the realistic dance-songs. What appears before the eyes of those listening to these songs is a totally different, sublime picture of the boy. He is the epitome of beauty, a desirable, if also far removed, being—but in no way one of the small, money-hungry urchins with false curls and frivolous winks.

Those who know Persian-Turkic lyric poetry will immediately see the likeness of these folksongs to classical and post-classical poetry. Indeed, the *bacaboz* listen to or sing these *mullosozi*-stanzas interchangeably with these literary poems (which were also traditionally sung, not recited). The circumstances in which they are sung clearly differ from those in which *qusiq* are sung: while *qusiq* underline the dancing of the boy, *mullosozi* fill in the pauses during which the boys are off the dance floor, or are sung at the beginning of a party before the boys are present.

Among the different kinds of Uzbek songs, the *mullosozi* rank very high, perhaps are even the most highly esteemed. Their melodies are solemn and contemplative, the texts hard to understand, if not completely incomprehensible, for uneducated members of the Uzbek population. Nevertheless, judging from their reactions while listening, these songs bring a lot of pleasure to all the listeners, no matter what their status or occupation: people close their eyes, sway their upper bodies with enjoyment, occasionally click their tongues, raise their eyebrows in recognition and

wag their heads.

The function which *mullosozi*-songs have in the framework of the boygame must now be considered.

They are not a means of communication as the *qusiq* can be. Apart from the fact that the *mullosozi*-texts are not very well suited to promote contact between *bacaboz* and *baca*, the *baca* are not even present at the time that *mullosozi* are performed, or in any case are not actively involved. Rather, during the *mullosozi* the *bacaboz* withdraws into himself, in expectation of a beautiful evening, or to digest a brushoff or his disappointment over the absence of a longed-for *baca*. Thus the *mullosozi* does not facilitate contact with the *baca*, but prepares for it, complements it (during the pauses in dancing), and even substitutes for it in cases of frustration.

Often enough, this substitutive quality of *mullosozi*-singing is needed. At all the parties at which I was present, there were far more "free" *bacaboz* present than available boys. Thus, not every *bacaboz* present could find a boy—aside from the fact that many men obviously did not even intend to find one. One should keep in mind that a considerable number of *bacaboz* are (or must be) satisfied with the "unrealized part" of the boygame. The reasons for this may be as banal as poor finances, but for many *bacaboz*, this idealized part of the boygame is apparently entirely fulfilling.

Finally we must discuss the viewpoint of "others", in this case women who are affected indirectly by the phenomenon, and persons outside of the scene who nonetheless have opinions about it.

It is not easy to persuade women to express themselves on the boygame. In general, it is considered improper for women to talk about "men's business". Therefore, one need not conclude that their reserve means disapproval. For example, women do not talk about their sons' circumcision, and this is definitely not viewed negatively. However, the few opinions on the boygame which I was able to obtain can be characterised as expressing reservations, to rejection.

It is striking that the women, like the *bacaboz*, tried hard to express themselves on the phenomenon as "outsiders". General judgments were occasionally made, but they did not talk about *bacabozlik* as it affected their own family. Not once did a woman admit to me that a boy from her own family was active as a *baca*, which is all the more striking because when I simply asked for the singing of boysongs, women always proudly referred me to a *baca*. The singing and dancing which accompany the boygame obviously does not have a taboo on it; however, neither the positive aspect of *baca*-existence, that a boy can acquire a considerable income, nor the sexual component is discussed.

It is reasonable to ask if women consider *baca* as rivals. They certainly do. But the *baca* is nowhere near as important a rival as a fellow-wife (*kundos*). He does not endanger a woman's position as directly and seriously as a second wife: the husband can not expect sons from him, and he will disappear sooner or later, or at least be replaced. More important, he is not around the woman every day and every hour, reminding her of her humiliation. As a rival in the husband's emotional life, the *baca* is considered of little importance, perhaps because little warmth exists between many married partners. Moreover, the women have a realistic view on the apparently tender bond between *aka* and *uka*: they doubt if this is real, and they mock those *bacaboz* who make fools of themselves on account of a *baca*.

The only aspect of their husband's participation in the boygame on which women express themselves clearly is the financial one. They complain that it is money which they, the women, have made, which the *bacaboz* spends on his hobby.

What do those who have no connections to the boygame think about *bacabozlik*? What is most striking is that they think or know so little about the phenomenon, especially about its social background. Rather, their assertions are filled with emotions.

Most of those with whom I spoke about the boygame were teachers and students, along with one poet and some merchants with foreign experience. All these people can be considered to belong to the "intellectual elite" of their society, most of them having studied at a university (Kabul or Istanbul).

All of them showed at least some reservations

about the boygame, and much more often, harshly rejected it, or were unwilling to recognize the existence of *bacabozlik*, or at least pictured it as something marginal, and those involved as a small group of social outsiders. The more the person tried to deny the phenomenon, the more absurd such denials appeared. In fact, the Uzbek intelligentsia, like the rest of the Afghan intelligentsia, views the boygame very seriously and is deeply interested in its suppression.

As noted, those who do not belong to the scene are not well informed about the details of the boygame, or pretend not to be, possibly in order to create the impression of distance. Accordingly, they advance few arguments against specific aspects; instead the phenomenon is condemned on vaguely moralistic grounds.

They assert that the character of the *baca* is harmed by his association with the *bacaboz*. The behavior of the *bacaboz* is described as "inverted", that is, described with concepts that pertain to homosexuality between adult men, and is rejected as such, even though this description does not correspond to the facts at all.

In any case, we recognize in the viewpoint of "enlightened" Uzbeks who do not belong to the scene, those reservations against same-sex relationships which, since the publication of the informative study of Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg,[7] must be recognised as prejudices having their origin in Occidental-Christian culture. Along with Western education Uzbeks obviously adopt European prejudices, which they then apply to phenomena in their own culture. Curiously enough, in this way they end up reinforcing that European ethnocentricity, from which they want to save their boygame-playing countrymen. Most of the those not belonging to the scene with whom I discussed *bacabozlik*, presupposed that as a European I would condemn the phenomenon, and obviously tried to anticipate my condemnation, and sought to protect the reputation of their countrymen against what they assumed were my opinions.

In the final section of this study, I offer considerable material on the "involvement of those not belonging to the scene" in what is now Soviet Central Asia. The Enlightenment, in the European sense, has governed there since the final quarter of the last century, and this has had the expected consequences for the boygame. It is quite conceivable that in the course of the transformation of society after the April revolution of 1978, "enlightened" ideals will push back the boygame among the Uzbeks of Afghanistan even further; unfortunately I have no information on this after that date.

Finally, we must consider the viewpoints of political and religious authorities.

The boygame has been subject to punishment in Afghanistan since the 1920's. The campaign against *bacabozlik* was one of the reforming measures instituted by King Amanullah. This legal prohibition was, however, consistently ignored not only by the "little people", small landowners and shopkeepers who could afford to show such disregard, but indeed by civil authorities themselves. Among *bacaboz* I have met mayors, market-inspectors, administrators of national development programs, and even a police-commander in a large provincial-town (many of whom were not Uzbek, it should be noted, but members of the most powerful ethnic group, the Pashtoon). Accordingly, punishments were given half-heartedly. The boygame itself was tacitly sanctioned, but not offenses that were related to the scene. These ranged from fixing games of chance through robbery and assault to murder and assassination.

Offenders belonging to the boygame scene can generally count on the sympathy of large parts of the population. One example of this is a singer called Hajdar, who received a life sentence for the murder of a rival in Shibirghan, but who nevertheless continued to record popular tapes of men's-songs—including one song about his own deed!

It is obvious that it was necessary to avoid prosecuting the boygame itself: a society cannot afford to put away one third of its male population, especially if public opinion is to a large extent not unfavorably disposed to the phenomenon, and if power is not concentrated in the hands of the group opposing it, all of which were the case in prerevolutionary Afghanistan.

No measures were taken against the boygame by the clergy. According to the Shafii school of

law, paedophilia should be punished in the same way as illegal heterosexual acts.[8] However, according to Central Asian understanding of Islamic law, there is no authoritative law concerning boylove, and thus no possibility to punish it. In practice, to the best of my knowledge, even deeply religious Uzbeks—including members of the clergy—were not averse to the boygame.[9]

The Unmaking of a Phenomenon: *Bacabozlik* in Uzbek Literature and Journalism

The Uzbeks of Northern Afghanistan are not alone as lovers of *bacabozlik*. Just as one can find the boygame among other ethnic groups in Afghanistan, it can also be found among the Uzbeks (and other groups) north of the Amu Darya, in the region of what is now the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, and in other parts of what was formerly czarist-controlled Turkestan. To be more precise, one *was* able to find the boygame in this region; journalistic and literary witnesses to the existence of *bacabozlik* extend over a period of more than half a century, from the time of the czarist takeover in Turkestan until the beginning of the 1930's. After that the sources are silent, and an inquiry in Tashkent of 1986 brought me nothing more than wily smiles as far as older persons were concerned, and an uncomprehending shaking of heads from younger ones. The phenomenon does not seem to exist anymore.

I wish to trace the stages of this 'unmaking' through journalistic and literary sources, to demonstrate how the combination of exogenous prejudice with ideological fervor, in the service of a social-political strategy, can completely eliminate one sector of folkculture in a relatively short time.

The Russian conquest and incorporation of Central Asia into the czarist empire meant that European interest was directed not only toward developing economic possibilities, but that Europeans had to come to terms with the society and culture of the indigenous people, if only to guarantee more efficient administration. It was in this context that *bacabozlik* first appeared in quasi-ethnographic studies, conducted officially or by private scholars. The results of these explorations are found mostly in the form of journalistic reports. They range from short notes and anecdotal accounts to well-researched articles of several pages in newspapers and magazines in Turkestan and elsewhere. In some articles a certain exoticism that refrains from a direct value-judgement is apparent, but most are marked by the characteristic European bias against any phenomenon that includes homosexual activity.[10]

For example, a note from a correspondent that appeared in St. Petersburg in 1882 reads:

> The absence of women among the men has contributed to another disgraceful phenomenon, *bacabazestvo*, the degeneration of the nature-given relationships. The unconcealed *bacabazestvo* is called by the indigenous people "courting a *baca* (a boy that sings and dances)", but you don't need to be astute to understand how disgusting the whole phenomenon is... Rich men maintain their own *baca*, while the poor share one with their comrades, at *dzuras*, and at these even murders are committed.[11]

One could contrast this with a more objective anecdotal report from 1874,[12] which pictures a *bacaboz*-party at an important pilgrimage site not far from Tashkent. The author deals especially with the interaction between the *baca*, whom he describes as being as splendidly dressed as the Afghano-Uzbek boys, and his crowd of admirers. The boy offered the *bacaboz* the waterpipe and tea; especially the serving of tea was experienced by the *bacaboz* as an erotic teasing. The *baca* played with his admirers' feelings by withdrawing a proffered cup of tea from the *bacaboz*, embarrassing the admirer who had joyously reached for it in the sight of his rivals; the humiliated *bacaboz* bore this treatment and waited for a later act of favor. During the dancing, as the *baca* adeptly steered the mood to a climax by holding off the admirers while gradually increasing the speed and intensity of his circling, a *bacaboz* tried to win his favor by offering him a sweat-rag to refresh himself and a cup of tea. The boy accepted it, but showed no

emotion. This behavior by the *baca*—a conscious distancing, frustrating, even tormenting the admirer—very closely resembles the picture of the cruel beloved drawn by Afghano-Uzbek *bacaboz* in their *mullosozi*-verses, though on a more trivial level than described in the songs. The report concluded by describing the *baca* as a "*baca* from Samarkand". Other, later newspaper accounts confirm that the boys from Samarkand were famous for their special abilities. In fact, I never encountered an Afghano-Uzbek boy with an ability to dance as described here, and in his strategy toward the *bacaboz*, this boy from Samarkand was incomparably more refined than those that I was able to watch.

While this journalistic report is valuable for research because of the precision with which it describes the whole course of a *bacaboz*-party, the contribution to which we next turn will be instructive from a totally different perspective. It is one of those fact-finding reports that end up influencing opinion, and was most likely an effective weapon in the immanent campaign against the boygame.

The title, "Prostitution in Central Asia"[13], indicates its intention. Immediately one thinks of immoral, socially harmful acts. That the information which it presents clearly reveals how small a role prostitution (in the strict sense) really played in relation to the whole phenomenon will not matter.

The author openly declares why he considers the extirpation of the phenomenon to be necessary: the depravity "has a deep influence on the morality of the boys", deprives society of potentially useful members, and leads to a further increase in the already high crime rate. As evidence, he cites the crime statistics (1869-1871) of the Xugentuzed, which show 10 murders and 14 cases of robbery related to *bacabozlik* (out of a total of 123 offences). He finds it unnecessary to give detailed information about what happens in the scene; it has already been written about abundantly, he claims. He rather sees it as his duty to offer a proposal on how this "male prostitution" could be repressed.

He considers it impossible to deal with this question from the perspective of the indigenous population. The influence of the Koran and Shari'at would prevent improvement. The impulse for change can only come from the colonial power, and this must begin with the liberation of the Sart women. They were unhappy with their situation anyhow (which he concludes from the fact that "Sart women chase after immigrated Tatars" and "offer themselves willingly to Russians as lovers") and were looking for a way out of their condition.

We should remember this confluence of factors, as we shall come across it again and again in selections from the columns in semi-official publications of the late 1920's: *bacabozlik* is on the one hand related directly to the practice of Islam and its clergy, and on the other hand to the unresolved status of women. In the context of these issues it is assumed to be an even more serious crime. The government's interest in abolishing the Shari'a-jurisdiction (repeatedly stressed by the author) and the repression of the influence of the Islamic clergy as a whole finds a welcome support in a moralizing rejection of "male prostitution".

Not only the Russian, but also the indigenous Jadidist press from its first appearance, repeatedly deals with *bacabozlik*. The intent in the latter is the same, and indeed the moralizing tone of its criticism seems to be taken directly from the Russian example. But the line of argument and the purpose are naturally completely different.

The magazine *Ojna* ("Mirror", published 1913-15), edited by Mahmud Xuga Behbudi, exemplifies the Jadidist movement. In it the full range of Central Asian concerns come together, from the exploration of their own tradition and their language and literature, to the attempted reform of the educational system, and the reform of Central Asian Islam. The boygame is not a focus of attention; many contributions however comment on it in relation to other matters.

In particular, three kinds of contributions deal with the boygame. First are the articles on medical care, in which *bacabozlik*, along with sexual relations with Russian immigrant prostitutes and the communal smoking of waterpipes, is held responsible for the increase of syphilis in Central Asia. It is also mentioned in articles concerning the interrelation between social structures and

economic backwardness (the squandering of capital is deplored, with wedding-feasts and *bacabozlik* as particular examples), and in articles on the reputation of the clergy and, as a whole, Islam in Central Asia (*bacabozlik* was supposedly one of the main reasons why the Muslim press in Kazan or Istanbul looked with disdain on their Central Asian fellow-believers). The moralizing tone becomes especially apparent in the articles concerning the traditional clergy. In them, the Jadidist writers are in full agreement with the Russian critique of the clergy, which created a stereotype, as we shall see, that continued until Uzbek literature grows silent about *bacabozlik*.

Through his activities as a publisher, Behbudi gathered around himself not only journalists but also many Jadidist creative writers. Nusratullo Millij ibni Qudratullo, whose drama of social criticism *Tuj* ("The feast") was first performed in Tashkent in 1914, belonged to this circle. This unpretentious play is interesting on account of its documentation of the customs of the day, and because it develops an economic argument against several institutions in contemporary social life. A circumcision feast is brought to the stage with all details, and the last act describes the economic and social ruin of the organiser of the feast, thus sharply criticizing the squandering of capital in search of social prestige by the aspirant middle class.[14]

Such economic arguments, which appeared in several articles in *Ojna*, are also to be found in the 1915 short story by Abdullo Qodirij, *Guvonboz* ("The boygame-player").[15] A spoiled young man associates himself with a *baca*, acquires prestige within the scene by squandering huge amounts of money, finally exhausts his father's fortune, and after murdering a few rivals, ends up in Siberia. In a short epilogue the author summarizes what makes the boygame such an objectionable phenomenon: economically, it is the coarsest kind of misconduct; it makes "muslims" (which at that time was synonymous for "the indigenous people") enemies of their own people; it makes the Central Asian Muslims ridiculous and despicable in the rest of the Islamic world; and finally deprives the *bacaboz* of his eternal happiness (p. 13). Again economic and vaguely Pan-Islamic arguments play the leading role, although moralizing is undoubtedly also present. Qodirij also attacks the traditional clergy in passing, and he adds his poem "Ahvolimiz" ("Our situation") at the end, in which the Islamic clergyman is again a *bacaboz* par excellence, corresponding to the stereotype.

After the October Revolution there was a growing silence over the boygame in the still Jadidi-dominated press. When it is mentioned, the "enlightened" didactic tone[16] is replaced by satire. Accordingly, comments about *bacabozlik* are now found primarily in the humoristic-satirical magazines *Masrab* and *Mushtum*. Cartoons printed there place *bacabozlik* in the context of the widespread "depravity" in Turkestan[17] without, however, blaming anyone directly. Perhaps concerned by the increasingly sharp attacks by Bolshevik circles on religion as a whole, the satirical magazines, whose editors until 1924 were Jadidists, refrained from further defamation of the traditional clergy.

From the late 1920's onward, *bacabozlik* plays only a very marginal role in narrative literature. It may be fashionable to describe a teacher at the "Medresse" in passing as a *bacaboz*,[18] but one does not find the boygame as a central theme anymore.

One should not conclude from this silence that the boygame—or "male prostitution", as it had been styled for fifty years by the now dominant ideology—had become extinct. We know this from the satirical poems of Abduhamid Magidi, in whose work (written exclusively in traditional metres and probably therefore not getting the attention that it deserved during his life, and even less later on) *bacabozlik* plays a very important role.[19] In these poems we find the final stereotype of the *bacaboz*, first developed in the reports of non-Uzbeks half a century before, and supplemented by the Jadidistic writers. The *bacaboz* is the enemy of progress and therefore of society, especially if he is a traditionally minded clergyman (or, among non-Jadidists, a clergyman of any kind). He is always present when governmental campaigns are obstructed. In the poem "...came in the newspaper" from 1925, the *bacaboz* undermines Lenin's New Economic Policy.[20] In 1927, at the start of an intensified campaign against the clergy, the *bacaboz* is the *mullo-eson*, the personal

union of religious and spiritual-mystical leader, who thwarts the modern school-system and—in addition to boys—thinks of nothing but women (!) and drinking.[21] In 1928 he, as a "bureaucrat", is just in time to block the new measures at the beginning of collectivisation.[22] Finally, in a poem into which the name of a man who nevertheless became a judge in Katta Kurghan is woven, the *bacaboz* is finally equipped with "modern" features: he is a social parasite who abuses all the offices that are entrusted to him, and on top of that also a *bacaboz*.[23]

Not all writers and journalists "modernized" the *bacaboz*. For most of them he is still symbolized by the torpid Islamic clergyman, with no distinction being made after 1925 between traditionalists and reformers, but entirely a symbol of everlasting backwardness. The satirical short story *Lajlatulqadr*[24] fits into this mold. Here, in complete accord with the spirit of the campaign started in 1928 against the twin enemies of the people, the *mullo* and the *boj* (clergyman and capitalist), three *bacaboz*, a capitalist, a clergyman and a spiritual leader (*eson*), are punished by the fury of a proletarian land-laborer, whose son they want to use as a *baca*.

Along the same lines, but in a much sharper manner, the columnist Komil Aliev, who was a leading figure among writers in major Uzbek newspapers from the late 1920's on, and acquired fame on account of his merciless exposés of the abuses which played an important political role in the preparation of show-trials, expresses himself on several "late cases" of *bacabozlik*.[25] In Aliev's columns the *bacaboz* is not exhibited and condemned as a boygame-player alone, but the *bacaboz* is simultaneously feudal lord and spiritual leader (as in his "Behind the walls of the convent"[26]) or is an opponent of women's emancipation and a saboteur of the Soviet jurisdiction, as in his column for the Women's Day in 1929.[27]

A cartoon published in *Mustum*[28] shows the *bacaboz* at the end of his development as a literary stereotype. Now, by 1928, he is definitely identified with the Islamic clergyman, a species that is waiting for the end in his hermitage.

The image of *bacaboz* and *bacabozlik* can thus be followed for sixty years or more through articles, daily newspaper columns and literature. Only for a few years right around the revolution is the boygame classified, albeit axiomatically, as something unbearable for society. It is identified with the object of literary attack. A journalistic and literary attack continues for several decades, in which the object is not to eliminate the phenomenon, but to advance various political goals. In this, the authors use the prejudice that first turned up in reports by non-Uzbeks, and was later adopted by the Jadidist Uzbeks, in order to defame the targets of their attack. This development reaches its climax immediately after 1925. After several years in which *bacabozlik* was granted an exaggerated social importance, mention of the phenomenon fades away around 1930. *Bacabozlik* had ceased to be a theme for journalism and literature.[29]

The boygame is illuminated one last time in the consciousness of the culturally and politically active public of Uzbekistan, in a 1932 speech by the chairman of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, Akmal Ikromov, entitled "For the sake of socialistic culture, for a critical renovation of the heritage of the past".[30] In his speech he settles accounts with "great-Russian chauvinism" (and on top of that, with "leftist deviations" in literature) on the basis of Stalinistic nationality-politics. In this speech Ikromov unmasks a "chauvinist"[31] who in an ethnological work insinuates that the Uzbeks have an inclination to the boygame, and thus had defamed and offended the whole nation. This reproach, of defaming and offending the Uzbek people, never had to be addressed to anyone again, for with this speech the taboo on mentioning *bacabozlik* in Uzbekistan was definitely complete.

Editor's Note:

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*Vorurteils

is excerpted from her book Die Knabenliebe in Mittelasien: Bacabozlik, *Freie Universität Berlin, Forschungsgebiedsschwerpunkt Ethnizität und Gesellschaft, Occasional Papers Nr. 17 (Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1988). The translation is by Gerard Moorman.*

NOTES

1. Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg: 1922).
2. Thus the inhabitants of Logar carry the nickname *bacaboz*. (Pierre Centlivres, "Noms, surnoms et termes d'adresse dans le Nord Afghan", in *Studia Iranica* 1.1972.1).
3. The same custom is described by Hans-Joachim Schickedanz in *Homosexuelle Prostitution. Eine empirische Untersuchung über sozial diskriminiertes Verhalten bei Strichjungen und Call-Boys.* (Frankfurt: 1979), p.72; the term "tour" was taken over from this source.
4. The example of the East-Turkistan self-appointed regent Jaqub Beg shows that *baca* are not excluded from even the highest circles in society (Albert von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkestan* (Leipzig: 1928), p. 8).
5. The institution of *qalliq* is only known in Maymana and Shibirghan and in the settlements near the mountain-edges between these cities. In *qalliq* two people who are engaged are allowed to meet each other, and later on even live together in the house of the bride, having and raising children. In exceptional cases, such a couple may use the bride-price received for a daughter to finance their own delayed wedding.
6. Analogous deficiencies among married women of course also seek and find compensation: although friendships between married women often go back to child- or juvenile-friendships, in later years they lack by no means homo-erotic or homosexual components. Both girlfriends (*dugona*) are, it must be remembered, about the same age; older women like to let themselves be served by girls or be treated to a massage, but a *dugona*-relationship that would correspond to a *aka-uka* relationship is not common.
7. Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, *Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils* (Frankfurt, 1978).
8. E. Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach Schafiitischer Lehre* (Berlin, 1897), pps. 740, 818. Also, Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 234.
9. The stereotype of *mullo* and *qozi*, the lower Islamic clergy and judges, as *bacaboz* par excellence was already current in Arabic literature of the 9th century, and plays an important role in Uzbek literature. See the final section of this essay.
10. Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, loc. cit.
11. From the newspaper *Vostocnye Obozrenija* (St. Petersburg), nr. 36 (1882), p.5. I want to thank Dr. V. Basilov of Moscow for providing this and other early journalistic reports.
12. P. M., "Bazem v Zangiata", in *Birzevie vedomosti*, nr. 268 (1874).
13. B. D., "Prostitucija v Srednej Azii", in *Turkestanskie Vedomosti*, nr. 7 (12 February 1874).
14. An article in *Ojna* 16, 1914, mentions that the performance of a good *baca* at a feast cost 200 *tanga* (gold rubles).
15. Abdullo Qodirij, *Guvonboz. Rumon* (Tashkent: Tipogr. pri Tur. Gen. Gub., 1915).
16. As late as 1924 this tone is heard occasionally, as in a late article on syphilis in *Inqilob*, nr.11-12 (May 1924), p. 65-ff. Syphilis also becomes a taboo subject from the mid-1920's onward.
17. *Mustum*, nr. 3 (1923) and nr. 19 (1924). These cartoons are reproduced on page 113 in Baldauf's volume.
18. "Memoirs of a Medrese-student", Mu'mingon Muhammadgonugli: *Turmus urinislari. Bir mullobaccaning xotira daftaridan*, 1. bulim, (Tashkent: Uz-DavNasr, 1926).
19. The poems cited here are from the collected work of Abduhamid Magidi, *Xandon lolalar. Hagvij se'rlar magmuasi* (Samarkand-Tashkent: UzNasr, 1929).
20. "Ciqdi gazetdan. Gazeta

*preferred spelling in most sources is *Muhammadanisches*

dusmanlarining tilidan." ("...came in the newspaper. With the words of the enemies of the newspaper."), pp. 30-2.
21. "Kupijasi." ("The prototype..."), pp. 48-9.
22. "Istar kungil. Bir bjurokratning xotira daftaridan" ("...desires the heart. From the diary of a bureaucrat."), pp. 73-5.
23. "Muvassah" (directed at Gavdat Rahmono), 1932, pp. 102-4.
24. From Galol Masrabij's collection of satires, *Qoramiq* (Tashkent-Samarkand: Uznasr, 1932), pp. 3-14.
25. Examples cited here are from the collection *Bomba* (Tashkent-Baku: UzSGDav-Nasr, 1932).
26. Loc. cit., pp. 100-7, "Xonaqoning devorlari orqasida", 8/3/1928.
27. Ibid., pp. 124-8.
28. *Mustum*, nr. 19-20 (1928). This cartoon is also reproduced on page 114 in Baldauf's volume.
29. The taboo on any mention of *bacabozlik* was still in full force in the recent past, even in academic works. The study edition *Abdulhamid Magidij. Tanlangan asarlar. Se'rlar, hikojalar* (Tashkent, 1974), in the quoted poem replaces the line "...bacani birdaj qucdi" ("...and they both hugged the *baca*" (p. 48) with the totally unfitting but less indecent "...birbirini kub qucdi" ("...and fell heartily into each others arms" (p. 75).
30. "Socializm madajinati ucun, utmisning meroslarini tanqidij islas ucun", published in *15 jilga Al'manx* (Tashkent, 1932).
31. According to page 24 he is referring to a certain Rudnev. It is clear from the stenographic report that Ikromov caused a considerable stir of laughter among the participants at the plenary session with this mention of the boy-game.

Editors Note:
We were not able to type set Uzbeki inflection marks. Words above with g, s or c should read, eg. bača. Words with u should read, ŭ. Our apologies to the reader.

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CELTIC PEDERASTY IN PRE-ROMAN GAUL

Erick Pontalley

For the public at large, and even for many cultivated people, the history of pederasty in antiquity begins and ends with Greece and the image of Roman debauchery.[1] Few know, for example, that a great part of the Middle East also practised boy-love, that the Etruscans were renowned for the same reason, or that the Germanic peoples were acquainted with a very archaic form of pederastic initiation. But of all the peoples among whom this type of liaison was accepted, one is least likely to think of the Celts, and many Frenchmen would be thoroughly shocked to learn that their Gallic ancestors were pederasts—just like their other ancestors, be they Greek, Roman, Germanic, Arab or whatever, for few countries have seen more waves of settlement than France.

Documents concerning pederasty in Gaul, despite their relative rarity and dispersion, are still more plentiful than those for the Germans or the Etruscans. What are these documents? What do they tell us of the existence of a pederastic tradition among the Gauls proper before the conquest by Caesar in 52 B.C.?[2]

It is helpful to bear in mind that the investigation of such a subject rests on but few, rare certainties, but also on many hypotheses, more or less risky according to the quality of the still extant documents. To this day we are still very poorly acquainted with the civilisation and general history of the Celts in antiquity; because of the paucity of sources, research is difficult, and there are disagreements even among specialists. This is all the more true if one takes a theme as specific as the love of boys.

One has, then, the choice of two attitudes: either to say hardly anything at all, for lack of complete certainty; or to list all the facts that could be of interest, without exception, with occasional attempts at explanation. It is this second course which has been chosen here. Thus, imprecisions and interpretations are inevitable, and some of them will be quite bold. The reader must make his own judgements; certainly other researchers will eventually go further and obtain more precise results. It will be made clear in the course of this article what is conjecture and what is historically documented.

Naturally, this article specifies case by case the reliability of sources and the conclusions that flow from them. For pre-Roman Gaul, they are of three sorts:

—in various Greek historians, there are a few allusions, interesting but brief, on pederasty in Gaul and among the Celtic peoples in general; these writers are generally objective and well informed;

—general sources on the Celtic world are important, but as yet poorly exploited, in particular the mythology of late Celtic societies in the British Isles (Wales, Scotland and, above all, Ireland); but all researchers recognise today that one can extend to Gaul most of the general conclusions one draws concerning these island communities;

—sources and research concerning the other Indo-European peoples (especially the Greeks, Germans and Persians) are also of the greatest use for the correct interpretation of what we do know of Gallic sociology or mythology.

Greek Sources

Many accounts from antiquity credit the Celtic peoples in general with homosexual practices that were institutionalized and socially recognized. Aristotle, with the benefit of first-hand information thanks to Alexander's Macedonian soldiers, tells of the honour which the Celts ac-

corded inter-masculine relations, for, he says, they kept them aloof from greed for material wealth.[3] The astronomer Ptolemy declares that pederasty is common among the peoples of the North (Celts and Germans).[4] And the Mesopotamian Gnostic, Bardesanus, confirms this opinion, mentioning legal forms of masculine union which had currency among either the one people or the other.[5]

Narrowing our scope to the people of Transalpine Gaul, they had, according to credible ancient authors, a great penchant for loving boys. Diodorus of Sicily, in the first century B.C., knew that the western Celts appreciated homosexuality (probably with adolescent boys, as other accounts confirm, rather than between adults):

> They have pretty women, but rarely do they go to them; their impassioned preference is for the immoral embraces of males. Beyond understanding! Their custom is to sleep on the ground upon the hides of wild beasts, taking their pleasure with two partners, one on each side. And, most astounding of all, lacking all respect for their own dignity, they abandon their fine bodies unresisting to other men, and they do not consider this practice shameful; on the contrary, they propose their favours and if they are not accepted, they consider the refusal an injury.[6]

Strabo's account, from the start of the first century of our era, is shorter but also more precise as to the age of the younger partner:

> The Celts are notorious for picking fights, and also for not considering it scandalous that the young should lavish the charms of their adolescence.[7]

Nearly a century later, Atheneus repeated his predecessors' allegations:

> Among the Barbarians, the Celts equally, although they have beautiful women, prefer boys by far. And often certain among them will have two favorites who sleep by them upon the hides of beasts.[8]

These three texts certainly refer to the Gauls proper, for they take as their source observations reported by Poseidonios, a very exact historian who travelled in Gaul several years before Caesar's conquest.

Modern research on these documents and others of the same type tends to prove that the Celts' institutionalized pederasty, like that of many Indo-European peoples, had an educative and initiatory character.[9]

Initiatory Pederasty

In fact, today it seems to be established that pederasty was part of a body of customs common to most ancient Indo-European peoples. Because of these shared roots, we find astonishing resemblances between the pederastic practices of the Greeks, the Germans, the Celts, etc.[10] Through comparison with similar institutions among the Greeks and Germans, and also by analysing data from the Celtic myths of Great Britain, one can attempt a reconstruction of the essential features of pederasty in pre-Roman Gaul. To be sure, each of the Indo-European peoples had its own particular way of bringing to life relations between boys and men, but a certain number of fundamental characteristics were preserved wherever pederasty continued to be a social reality.

Both among the Greeks of proto-history and among the Germans, the official relationship between men and boys was not, essentially, an expression of love, but a codified civic rite through which apprenticeship necessary for adult life was fulfilled. Probably it was the same among the Celts, and that is why, as in Diodorus's note, the Gallic adolescent sought out an older lover: it should have been to his shame should he fail to find a man disposed to take him in charge, just as, in our own time, an apprentice is discredited if all prospective employers turn him down. It goes without saying that real love could on occasion enrich this institutional relationship, but that was not essential. Also, as everywhere else, the love of

adolescent boys could exist on its own, detached from any educative and social implication, for a stereotyped institution is often accompanied by its freer twin—just as, in all societies, marriage exists side by side with cohabitation.

Contrary to what the authors cited above supposed, having two boys beside one "upon the hides of beasts" was probably not a regular state of affairs. Such a nocturnal arrangement calls to mind the context of hunting often encountered in probationary rites of ancient Europe, which could only plausibly concern a certain class of men, and then only during well-defined periods.[11] Through comparison, once again, with Greek or German pederasty, one may conclude that in reality what was happening was a sort of course of instruction and survival outside normal society. This is a very common structure in initiatory processes, very much, for example, like the Cretan pederastic ritual also reported by Strabo.[12] At the same time, many accounts also give evidence that Celtic men were certainly partial to feminine charms: evidently Diodorus and Atheneus failed to understand that the homosexual practices reported by Poseidonios did not in themselves amount to the whole of the Gauls' love life. They, like most of the peoples of antiquity, practiced pleasures precluding none, with women and boys in turn.

Apart from initiation with a pederastic component, two other educative structures appear among the Gauls: fosterage (education of a young person in one or several allied families, in accord with an old Indo-European custom),[13] and Druidic School, which busied itself mainly with the sons of the aristocracy. (The practice of extra-familial education can be found in other forms down to our own time, and Brittany, a land of strong Celtic tradition, is still today the region of France with the most boarding schools.) One must be careful not to confuse these two distinct institutions: fosterage often began during childhood and ended with adolescence, while the time spent at Druidic School could last well into adulthood.

That there was a pederastic component in fosterage is not supported by any primary sources, but such a hypothesis is not intrinsically implausible. The Gauls were well known for their very free sexual life, which even included incest and ritual zoöphilia.[14] It would not be surprising if some of them had pederastic relations with their young wards, since these relations fell under no moral prohibition and since they even formed an official part of the eventual initiation into adult life. What is more, the social and affective bonds between the "foster father" and his ward were very strong, sometimes more than those with the natural parents; the same was true even between "foster brothers" taught together by the same tutor (for a good teacher might have several young protégés at a time, duly entrusted by their families, as indeed one boy might sometimes have several foster fathers, in correspondence with Spartan pederasty, in which it was honourable for an adolescent to have several lovers).[15] It is possible, in the context of the Celtic warrior aristocracy, that these bonds could have been expressed in erotic contacts.[16] But all that one can say is that these would have remained in the personal sphere, unlike what happened during initiation rites, where they had a social character.

Druids vs. Warriors

This is a suitable point to note that the Gauls differed from all their neighbours, even the other Celts, in the rapid evolution of their society, from the second century B.C. on, from a semi-theocratic monarchy in which the Druids were dominant, to collective government by the aristocracy. Using terms coined by Indo-European archaeology, it can be said that the second estate (the warriors) gained ascendancy over the first (the priesthood).[17] Now, we know from Persian and Indian societies that the Indo-European priesthood fought an age-old battle, in those nations where they were able to exercise power, to eradicate all homosexual practices, considering these a grave error.[18] Thus pederastic traditions persisted only among peoples where the warrior class won social primacy, that is, essentially, according to our documents, among the Greeks and Germans. When the Gauls, in the face of rising Druidic power, implemented a progressive but irreversible effort to hand over power to the war-

rior aristocracy, without a doubt they at the same time prevented the disappearance of traditional pederastic practices—a disappearance which was finalised in Ireland, where the Druids held on to the reins of power right up to the advent of Christianity.

Thus, in their rustic schools, the Druids, like their Persian or Hindu counterparts, probably discouraged pederastic activities with their pupils. This declaration is supported by the justifications that the Roman emperors, who from Claudius on engaged in a vigorous fight against Druidism, which fermented revolt against Rome, used to eventually proscribe it. To justify this repression they specifically accused the Druids of practicing human sacrifice (which seems to be confirmed in certain cases)[19]; had they wind of pederastic practices, they would surely not have missed the opportunity of imputing these to them also, for pederasty, though widely tolerated, remained theoretically scandalous in Rome, at least if the boy was free-born and not a slave. In a sense, the Romans' silence on this point concerning the Druids amounts to an acquittal.

The case of Celtic royalty seems to be slightly different, to the extent to which we can glimpse traces of initiation or fosterage peculiar to royal families. The Irish hero Cuchulain, for example, was born twice and has four fathers, of whom several are gods.[20] King Mongan has a legal father, but it is the god Mannanan who comes to take him and raise him in his kingdom.[21] The young Condlé-la-Flamme was taken from his father, despite the opposition of a Druid, by a fairy who gave him a magic apple and promised him eternal youth and beauty.[22]

This last legend recalls the story of the Trojan child Ganymedes, who retained youth and perfect beauty once Zeus had taken him from his father King Tros, so that he might serve the gods with celestial aliments.[23] We are also familiar with the episode of King Tantalus, who dismembered his son Pelops, had him cooked, and served him at the table of the gods: Zeus had the boy's members placed in a cauldron (like the Celtic god Teutates's magic cauldron) and brought him back to life so that Poseidon might take him with him to his abode.[24] Now the legend of Ganymedes and the legend of Pelops are very different from most of the other pederastic Greek myths (such as those of Hyacinthus, Cyparissus or Narcissus).[25] The welcoming of these royal sons among the gods could well then be linked to some specifically royal practice, symbolically marked by the boy's perfect beauty, his royal descent, his disappearance or temporary death after which he can be raised from the dead by a divine being, who then confers on him eternal youth next to the gods, and finally the consuming of a magic food. If pederasty plays a role in this (as much for Poseidon and Pelops as Zeus and Ganymedes), it is probably because the King, unlike the priests, belongs not only to the first Indo-European estate (which, as we have seen, was hostile to pederasty, or at least became so): as symbol of his people's unity, he shares in all three aspects of society, being at the same time priest, warrior and producer. Whatever the case, deeper research is required into all that concerns Indo-European royalty and its connections with initiatory pederasty. Our knowledge of Celtic society, on this as on many other subjects, can without doubt be expected to evolve a great deal further.

A Warrior Initiation

The above details on the ideology and historical role of the Druids, along with comparisons with the other Indo-European peoples, allow us to place Gallic initiatory pederasty in its true context: probably a temporary rite between warriors. Thus, perhaps as fosterage reaches its end, about the age of sixteen or seventeen, those Gallic adolescents destined for a military career pass through a period of initiation, during which each of them is placed with a man (a few documents seem to indicate that this "course" lasted one year). No doubt the adult would protect his pupils, and his main task would be to mould them and communicate to them his knowledge. The erotic pleasure he would gain from these liaisons, whether throughout the whole period of his sponsorship or merely during the course of a brief foray into the wild, would be considered a normal reward for his pedagogic role. In addition, the pederastic relation emphasised the adolescent's

social inferiority and "femininity" beside the adult warrior, the same status the warrior society reserved for women. Thus the end of the initiation, giving him at last the right to an active sexuality, marked his accession to the status of a fully virile adult.[26]

It is perhaps significant that one finds in Gaul, too, certain values typical of Greek societies, values which favoured the blossoming of pederasty and which seem to be linked to the Indo-European warrior estate: the importance of a physical beauty indissolubly linked to moral beauty (a visible flaw, such as a boil, could definitively disqualify a Celtic king); the magical role of nudity (the Gauls engaged in combat nude, as numerous texts from antiquity and Roman bas-reliefs testify); education into virile courage (as important in Gaul as, for example, in Sparta); rejecting worldly riches as a moral value (Aristotle, as we have seen, asserts that Celtic pederasty served as an antidote to the attraction of riches); the taste for independence (neither the Celts nor the Greeks could ever form a single state, and the Gallic warriors' revolt against their Kings recalls the liberating role of certain pederastic couples against Greek tyrants).

One can even advance, with all appropriate caution, the hypothesis that several Celtic myths from the British Isles may be later heterosexual adaptations, whether Druidic or Christian, of initiation rites pederastic in character, which would, as an indirect repercussion, confirm and throw light on the practices of the Gauls. For example, the Welsh King Pwyll, while hunting a stag, meets Arawn, the King of the Dead, who sets him as a task an exchange of their respective roles and appearances for the period of one year. As he is a bachelor, Pwyll does not wish to have intercourse with Arawn's wife, for Arawn would not be able to do likewise, so he respects her honour until his return to Earth. So it is that he and Arawn become linked by bonds of friendship. Many elements of this legend recall initiatory customs known among the Germans or the Greeks: the stag hunt (as in the myth of Cyparissus); the symbolic death (myths of Hyacinthus, Cyparissus, etc.); the period of testing outside society (as with the Cretans); spending the night in the initiator's bed, and the impossibility of having an active sexual role before the initiation is over (these last two being the very foundation of Indo-European pederasty, as is stated elsewhere among the Germanic Taifales).[27]

The young Druid Nede was the adopted son of King Caier. He wished to supplant the latter, both with his wife and in his role as sovereign. He asked for Caier's dagger, which the King, according to custom, could not normally refuse him. However, Caier was bound by a sacred interdict, forbidding him to part with the dagger. So Nede composed a magic satire against him, which gave Caier three spots upon his face, thus depriving him of his rights. Here, too, one finds several initiatory themes: "adoption" by an adult; an adolescent's desire to become adult sexually and socially; the desire to enter the initiator's bed (thus pederasty could be dissimulated as heterosexual adultery); and the obligatory gift of a weapon (as in Crete), marking the initiator's final retreat. However, the story has a tragic ending: while pursuing Caier, Nede was killed by a shard of stone which pierced his eye. Perhaps one can see in this, if the pederastic interpretation is justified, a warning to all Druids not to undergo the initiation rites of Kings and warriors, on pain of losing their clairvoyance, or even their life.[28]

The story of Cuchulain is just as revealing. This famous hero, who probably lived during the reign of Augustus, was initiated into the techniques of war by two women: Dordmair, with whom he refused to sleep because she was too ugly; and Scatach, a sorceress whose bed he shared for a year (as well as having union with her daughter) in order to perfect his initiation through sexual intercourse.[29] This Irish legend shows that there was for the Celts a very close link between military initiation and sexual union, and might give evidence of the existence of initiatory "ephebophilia", whether homosexual or heterosexual, in the warrior class.

Finally, we must note that Atheneus's account allows us a glimpse of an original institution, specific to the Celtic peoples, or even just the Gauls: the union between a man and two adolescents who share his bed. This brings to mind the combat formation described by Pausanias among the Gal-

lic cavalry of the 3rd century B.C., the *trimarkisia*[30], wherein a principal combatant is assisted by two auxiliaries. An identical structure turns up, too, in myth, where two young foals born with Cuchulain become his faithful chargers. It is possible that all of these trios represent one and the same reality, the adult warrior and his pair of young protégés, but in the different contexts of instruction and combat.[31]

The Divine Boy

To complete this consideration of pederasty in Gaul, we may add that we know almost nothing about the Celtic gods, nor their possible involvement in pederastic myths. What should we think, for example, of the couple formed by the hero Smertrius and the god Esus, reminiscent on certain points of Heracles and Hylas, or Apollo and Cyparissus? And is there an allusion to pederasty in the epithet *Lovantucarus* ("Lover of youth") applied to the god Ogmios, patron of war and combatants?

Certain indicators also show that adolescence had a religious value. There did in fact exist among the Gauls a boy-god called Maponios, whom Welsh and Breton legend has preserved under the name Mabon, and whom the Romans assimilated into Apollo. He is the equivalent, it would seem, of the Irish hero Oengus, known by the epithet *Mac Oc* (that is, "Young Son"), son of the god Dagda and the fairy Boann. This Oengus was the most beautiful and lovable of all the mythic people of *Thuatha de Danann*: he gave protection to unhappy lovers, and his kisses turned into birds which came and flew about young people. At his father's request he was abducted by Mider, hero of the Beyond and specialist in abduction, whose name evokes the Indo-European root **med-* (which signifies "rule", "middle", or even "intoxication", and which is also found in Ganymedes, the cupbearer of the Greek gods, who pours their nectar)[32]. Thanks to a Roman inscription, "*Toutati Medurini*", Mider, who seems to have been known in Gaul by the name Medru, appears as one of the avatars of Teutates (whose likeness to Tantalus, another hero of the Beyond and of initiation, who was father of Pelops and one of the abductors of Ganymedes, we have already seen). One may thus suppose that a congruent myth existed in Gaul, according to which the divine boy Maponios, with his distinctly sunny and amorous character, would be carried off by Teutates-Medru, brought into an enigmatic Beyond and initiated through a rite of death and resurrection linked to a magic cauldron. As this abduction would have taken place with the agreement of the child's father, it is reasonable to see in it the symbol of a royal and probably pederastic initiation, very similar to the corresponding Greek myths.[33]

Editors' note:

Erick Pontalley was born in 1947. He was for many years a friend and correspondent of the author Roger Peyrefitte, who introduced him to the cultural tradition of boy-love. After founding CAPRI in 1968, the first pederast group in France, he was for three years its spokesperson. Since 1971, he has worked in various boys' boarding schools. He contributed to Pasteur Doucé's volume La pédophilie en question, *and is currently working on a* Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la pédérastie, *from which this article was compiled. This article copyright by Erick Pontalley, 1990. The text was translated by Leo G. Adamson.*

NOTES

1. I give the term *pederasty* its currently most generally accepted meaning in the French language, the meaning which accords with history, etymology and logic: a loving or sexual relation between a man and a boy (that is, a non-adult male, whether pubescent or not). *Pederasty* then never signifies *homosexuality between adults*, nor *anal intercourse*. It is of course impossible to set a precise age

limit for the younger partner, such are the differences of physical and sexual development from one individual to another.

2. The Romans gave the name Transalpine Gaul, or Gaul proper, to the entire territory bounded by the Mediterranean, the Pyrennees, the Atlantic, the Channel, the Rhine and the Alps. Besides France, this area today includes Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as parts of the Netherlands and Germany. Cisalpine Gaul, which consisted of the north of Italy and where the Celtic occupation was not as long-lasting, falls outside the scope of this study. Likewise, the situation of the other territories inhabited by Celtic populations will not be examined here: that is, Central Europe, the British Isles, Iberian Galicia and Anatolian Galatia. We shall touch on these only in relation to Gallic history, for example to highlight some trait common to all the Celts.

3. Aristotle, *Politika*, II, 9, 7-8 + 1269 b; Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique dans l'Europe ancienne* (Paris: Payot, 1986), pp. 177-9.

4. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos suntaxis*, II 3, 61-2.

5. Eusebius, *Euaggelikes apodeixeos proparaskeue* VI, 12 and 16, + Bardesanus, *Liber legum regionum*, 592 f. Nau.

6. Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheke historike*, V, 32, 7.

7. Strabo, *Geographikon*, IV, 4, 6 + 198.

8. Atheneus, *Deipnosophistai*, XIII, 603 a.

9. Sergent, op. cit., pp. 177-191.

10. Ibid., pp. 7-11.

11. Ibid., pp. 181-2.

12. Strabo, op. cit., X, 4, 21 + 483; Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque* (Paris: Payot, 1984), pp. 15-53.

13. Emile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris: Minuit, 1969), tome 2, pp. 85-8; Jean Markale, *Les Celtes et la civilisation celtique: mythe et histoire* (Paris: Payot, 1988), pp. 160, 166, 275.

14. Olivier Launay, *La civilisation des Celtes* (Geneva: Famot, 1975), pp. 168-9, 182-3, 213-8, 222, 270: among the Celts, the same woman could be shared among several brothers, and legal incest between father and daughter is attested very late in Ireland; there were various formulae for engagement, marriage, cohabitation and divorce, depending on the duration envisaged for the union and the degree of fidelity expected from the espoused; rape of a girl aged between seven and fourteen incurred financial compensation, but it does not appear that paedophile relations with either sex were punishable if the child was consenting; lastly, an Irish fertility and enthronement rite is reported in which the new king must engage in public coitus with a mare.

15. Launay, op. cit., pp. 169-70, 237; Felix Buffière, *Eros adolescent: la pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980), p. 67.

16. Sergent (*L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 190-1) thinks he has discovered a possible trace of pederastic fosterage in the story of Maelgwn, a Welsh king whom the monk Gildas accuses of having lived the life of a "sodomite". This hypothesis could be generalised to other Indo-European peoples, since the same author sees a link between fosterage and pederastic initiation in the myth of Laios and Chrysippus (*L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, pp. 85-6).

17. Launay, op. cit., pp. 73-4.

18. Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 222-31.

19. Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, VI, 16; Diodorus of Sicily, op. cit., V, 31; Strabo, op. cit., IV, 5; Launay, op. cit., pp. 140-4.

20. Launay, op. cit., p. 127.

21. Ibid., pp. 127-8.

22. Ibid., pp. 210-11; Markale, op. cit., pp. 170-1, 411.

23. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (1960), ch. 29; Pierre Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 163-4; Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, pp. 237-47.

24. Graves, op. cit., ch. 108; Grimal, op. cit., pp. 354-5; Markale, op. cit., pp. 353-7; Sergent, op. cit., pp. 75-87.

25. To my mind, Sergent has not gone deeply enough into the likenesses between Pelops and Ganymedes, nor their common differences with the Apollonian or Heraclean pederastic myths. For example, the myths of Pelops, Ganymedes and Condlé all mention some remarkable food (human flesh, nectar, a magic apple), and eternal youth (Pelops's ivory

symbolises incorruptibility: see Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*); they could be linked to the first estate, and especially to royalty. Several Apollonian myths mention plants and marriages; perhaps they are indicative of initiations linked to the third estate. As for the Heraclean myths, their warrior aspect is plain to see.

26. Sergent, op. cit., pp. 64–71; Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h and Françoise Le Roux, *Les druides* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1986), p. 124.
27. Launay, op. cit., pp. 130-2; Markale, op. cit., p. 401; Sergent, op. cit., pp. 97-123.
28. Guyonvarc'h and Le Roux, op. cit., pp. 121-3; Kuno Meyer, "Sanas Cormaic: An Old Irish Glossary", in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, IV (Halle-Dublin: 1912), pp. 58-60; Whitley Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* (London: 1862), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.
29. Launay, op. cit., pp. 154-5.
30. Pausanias, *Hellados periegesis*, X, 19, 10-11.
31. Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 182-3.
32. Benveniste, op. cit., tome 2, pp. 123-32; Markale, op. cit., p. 404.
33. Launay, op. cit., p. 125; Markale, op. cit, pp. 101, 398-413.

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WHITSUN EVE

"Benjamin"

Night had fallen in the rugged Alps over the little village with its one small church. In all the houses the people were taking their rest, tired from the hard farm work in the mountains. Only from a window of the parsonage did a ray of light still shine.

Pastor Otto Ringler was sitting at his desk near the wide-open window. Before him lay several sheets of paper bearing notes in his bold handwriting. They were for his Whitsunday sermon, which he would deliver the next morning in the tiny church opposite, whose truncated tower now staunchly and peacefully kept watch above him. He occasionally took them into his hands, turned them over, leafed through them, and read a few lines by the light of the lamp, only to push them aside again. The train of thought in them was complete; he found nothing to add or elaborate; it was rather a sign of his impatience that he still occupied himself with them now and again. His long pipe gave him rather more to do. Now he refilled it; now it appeared that it didn't draw correctly, so that he had to clean it with a wire; now he raised it up to test the draft comfortably; now he laid it near him at the edge of the table, only to reach for it again. But in the long run it too could not help him control his impatience. He stood up, walked to the window, and leaned out.

How lovely the smells of this June night! For a couple of days the sun had burned just right between the bare, wind-swept peaks, and the grass and flowers that pushed up released from their colourful honey-cups the sweet breath of well-being that is the herald of all growth. Below him, the village was bordered by pine trees interspersed with linden bushes, and opposite, over the low wall of the churchyard, stood a robust elderberry bush, which mixed a somewhat bitter scent from its white flowers with the all too sweet fragrance of the lindens.

The pastor, however, paid no attention to the pleasures of this beautiful night. With a tense impatience he listened for noises in the dark. But there was no sound in the mountain stillness. Again he sat down at his desk, picked up his pipe, and drew the sheets in from the edge of the desk.

Among the sheets he found a letter. He held it in his hand, but did not read it—he had already read it too many times, had taken care that it always stayed close to him. A postcard also lay there, a picture postcard with a few lines scribbled on it, lines which he had also read over and over again.

> My dear Otto,
>
> I can only add to my last letter to you that I am certainly coming to visit you—on the evening before Whitsunday. From here I can only get to H. on the very last train, and then I shall come to you by foot. So I can't calculate when I shall arrive—but you know my hiker's legs, and I can only say: I am coming, no matter what!
>
> Yours, Heinz.

These few lines alone appeared to be able to assuage the pastor's impatience. For now he calmly and peacefully picked up the sheets of his sermon and began to read over his presentation from the beginning, meanwhile drawing long clouds from his pipe.

What was the unusual tone which he this time sensed in his clearly ordered thoughts? So differ-

ent—so different from that which was usually his! He was not an enthusiast, and never had been. Reared in a poor but honest farmer's home, he had had to fight and work hard to obtain the simple position of a village pastor in the rugged Alps. His dry, slow, serious spirit had been the best companion in this struggle, and had led him along the simple if by no means effortless path. Even without this disposition he would have known that he could not reach the hard, plain, sober farmers up here in the Alps with enthusiasm. But these same farmers could sense the presence of a warm heart in a man's breast; with their sober eyes they read it in one's eyes. And the pastor likewise read in their eyes what they needed. He understood his farmers, and his farmers understood him; they did so without great effort, for this understanding lay firmly and solidly on both, like the roots on the mountain rock.

But here, in this sermon: what was it that had come over him? Now, as he read it over so calmly, it became quite clear to him: this was the first time that he had forgotten his farmers! He had never before spoken to them like this! Yes, for the first time he had obeyed the innermost feelings of his own heart, he had given expression, not to his sense of their need, but to his own complete happiness! Full of a sweet, wonderful consecration, the festive words poured out to him! How had that happened? Surely he had himself under control. He had followed very precisely the plain words of the Bible about the pouring out of the Holy Spirit; he had only, he thought, illuminated the obscure passages a bit. But this light here! Why did it shine so very brightly?

The pastor felt himself completely caught up by his own words, and it seemed to him as if, in writing his sermon, he had been truly "filled with new wine". But—new wine in the rugged Alps! He *had* treated himself to a small pitcher of thin, sour beer after his work, poured from the jug that he still had standing in the corner so that he would have at least something to offer his late guest in addition to a piece of bread and the hard, robust mountain goat cheese. No, no—it was certainly nothing like that! But as his eye now moved searchingly over the lines, it stood there in black and white. He had not had to use his own words to say it; he had quite simply been able to write them out from the Bible. They stood there now in their simple, touching, magical power: "Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad, for my flesh shall rest in hope." Yes—that was it. Certainly he must have felt it quite particularly—this time, this one time—felt it in a curious, enthusiastic sense. He must have felt it entirely for himself, not for his farmers. It stood there full of an overflowing sensitivity. It was perhaps for him the Pentecostal Spirit, which thus comes with the sound of a mighty rushing wind and appears as cloven tongues of fire—to all hearts that feel it. It stood there quite firmly and distinctly and without question: "Thou hast made known to me the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy with thy countenance."

In the world, and above all in people, love is sacred. And for the sake of this love was the Spirit sent. Whoever bestirs himself will find his bread, his work, his house, his roof, his law, his order, his existence, his final rest, and the growth of his seed. Love, however, does not dwell in the minds of those affecting wisdom, but in the deepest seclusion of the heart. And therefore the Spirit was sent for the sake of this love. If something is to be condemned in this world, it will never be love, and so for the sake of this love the Spirit was sent, the clear, undeniable Spirit that shines like the light of day, without bounds and over all temporal barriers. Love is not something the world uses, for then a sack of potatoes would be love and an umbrella charity. But that which brings blessedness, whatever its name, and that which serves sacredness through all the hard ways and abysses—that is love. And this was the Spirit sent with flaming tongues. And therefore does my heart rejoice—you have made known to me the ways of life!

That was the Whitsunday sermon of Pastor Otto Ringler. One thing was certain—his farmers in the rugged Alps would not understand it. But he understood it. And he knew exactly why he understood it and had said precisely that. And why should he—who year in and year out preached what was understandable to others—not this one time say for himself the sincere words, feel this one time his innermost soul trem-

ble in the words, and let them vibrate in the thoughts that surround life with strength, warmth, grace and illuminating redemption, despite the danger that he, for this one single time, just would not be understood?

And precisely why did he want to say all this tomorrow—tomorrow for the Whitsunday festival?

A gentle and wise smile came to the pastor's face.

He had once again finished reading over his sermon. Now the letter, which lay among the sheets, fell into his hands. This time he did not lay it aside again. Although he knew its contents as well as those of the sermon, he unfolded it tenderly and lovingly, bent his head over it, and read:

My dear Otto,

It has been almost twenty years since we have seen one another, and we have heard little of one another in that time. I know very well, however, that you have not forgotten me, just as I too think of you with undiminished love.

With the openness which is well known to you, I shall explain my reason for writing at this time. The extraordinary, complex events of recent times, though completely mysterious to the great mass of average people, have set the whole of so-called public opinion in such an uproar that even the smallest and poorest little journal cannot do enough to condemn the secret thoughts, feelings and actions that are the root of these much talked about events. I assume that, like every contemporary reader, if you receive any sort of paper at all, you too are not unaware of that judgement, as painful as it is warped, of facts which are usually kept so secret. I will not go into this any further, but simply note that it is the reason that I write you again after so long a time.

My dear friend! I do not need to look into your heart. I know—for your love and your loyalty have proved it to me!—that you recall just as pleasantly as I all the beautiful, sunny hours in which our warm feeling for life and our joy in one another brought us together—closer together than is customary among those who are capable of no greater depth of feeling than cardboard puppets, who take care not to transgress any dusty paragraph of some trivial law enacted sometime by who knows whom. Our joy was to give pleasure to one another! Sometimes we carried on perhaps a little too much. But the whole radiant happiness of that time was compressed so ecstatically in those sunny hours of our youth, that I do not wish to be the judge of those secret moments, nor allow anyone else to pass an ignorant judgement on them. I should have to complain of the spring-clear bliss of walks in May, of the transfiguring magic of the music of guitars at midnight, of the innocence of sun-gilded lakes and of the intimacy of the song of a thrush in a flower-filled bush, were it to occur to me to think of our meetings, intoxicated by longing, in any other than glowing terms. And indeed I count happy every fiber of my body, through which I came to know forever the genuine bliss and repose of existence, as I felt the intoxicating sensation of the pulse of your warm, youthful blood.

But I do not need to say more of this, or recall and swear it. You see, my dear Otto, through the inexpressible happiness of our being together at that time, we are now two of those pitiable and condemned beings, whom a pious destiny has spared from having the force and vitality of our feeling for life corrupted by the foolishness of the misguided crowd. We, like the immortal wise men, have enjoyed the favour of undertaking in ourselves a correction of the times and its errors. You know as well as I that a human being, alone and solitary in the abyss with his conscience,

will take responsibility for his actions. For such a relation as reverberates through one's whole being, there is no other judgement seat before real wisdom and true justice—that is, not artificially brought together by some affected wisdom—other than the tribunal of one's own, liberated conscience.

I don't need to tell you this, of course, for in your own life you have answered the question of that most mysterious Sphinx, just as I have done in mine. Pious, good, honest, courageous and capable, you have walked your path, and these qualities will see you through to its end. You made the customary obeisance to fatherland and humanity, and if your kindhearted, decent wife was taken from you, you still have the joy of being able to rear a healthy boy for the future. I too have walked the straight path. The ecstatic bliss of love I once enjoyed in youth became for me the model of caring for others, of meeting weakness with gentleness, and nonsense with indulgence and patience. Certainly I have remained lonely, because more than you perhaps I was filled with those beautiful weaknesses that once led us together to such a charming understanding of the slightest wishes and candid desire. Thus I cherish as my richest and sweetest possession the memory of that bliss, imbibed to the full.

Thus I now reach out my hand to you from afar. I know that you think as I do. And so I will only say to you: write me a short note and I will come to you, so that we may clasp hands, in this pleasant hour, since the hidden future lies behind us. We will need to say or explain nothing to ourselves. We can—alas—no longer be as we were then, when for us the hours were roses and light and song. The first rays of silver now lie upon our hair, and as the bold intoxication of youth has its season, so too does the comfortable repose under trees stripped of leaves in autumn. I can be free for a few days over Whitsuntide. You know that I must come from a long distance and cannot, because of other limitations, schedule things too precisely. But in the evening of the first day of Whitsuntide I can be with you. Let the blame be mine if I cut into your Whitsunday sermon preparation—you will be able to write up some kind of little Whitsun sayings for your rugged Alpine farmers—the holidays will then belong to us—won't they?—and to us alone! And give a really nice greeting to your little boy for me! Your old, always faithful

Heinz.

After he received and read this letter, Pastor Ringler occupied himself with two things: first, he quickly wrote back that he would await his friend with all joy, that he could come whenever he wished; and second, he sat down and immediately began writing his sermon for Whitsunday, in good time to be able to give the whole of the remaining hours to the visit by the friend of his youth.

If only he were here!

When he had finished his repeated reading of sermon, letter and postcard, as well as filling a fresh pipe, and had once again leaned out the window, he heard a step approaching through the stillness of the mountain night. Indeed—someone was coming, and he was coming with hasty step, as much as the darkness allowed.

"Heinz!" called the pastor from the window.

"Hello!" came the answer.

In a moment the pastor was down in front of the house.

A moment more and they embraced one another.

And then they sat down together, the pitcher of sour Swabian beer between them. Between turns of talking they looked into one another's eyes again after such a long time—and each found that nothing had changed there. The necessary things of life were soon told, by the one and then by the other. Then followed that comfortable silence in

which one really enjoys the pleasant togetherness, in which the glance speaks more than words. And then, after a good while, the pastor began to speak again while a cheerful, sunny, gentle smile brightened his whole face.

"You know, Heinz, I have really not yet given you any kind of proper answer to your long letter. I only wrote quite briefly that you were to come. Now you are here! But such a long, honest letter should also have its proper answer. I will give it to you now! Then we will talk about this matter no further, agreed? Listen then! Tomorrow morning I will give a sermon in the little church opposite, and I can tell you: my answer is in it! Only listen a bit carefully, and when the farmers around you begin to stir and clear their throats as if to say, 'Where is the Pastor going today with all this stuff?'—don't let it disturb you! It will not last long, and it will be the farmer's best consolation that they have not understood it! The sermon is for the two of us, and we have a right to it. You, certainly—to my answer.

"So—that was the one thing. And now comes the other. I have something more to say to you, and something to show you. Do you still remember those first, blissful days when we became acquainted with one another, barely in our teens? We were always together, as far as our work, to which we both applied ourselves with diligence and patience, allowed. Then came the golden days of vacation. You came out to me in the country. My parents' farmhouse was certainly not grand, but still there was a room high up under the gable and in it was a giant bed—you still remember?—such as one still finds now and then in the country. And the hours we spent in that bed—they weren't the worst of our vacation! Two things—oh, the memories are so golden!—made us holiday boys shout with joy: outside, the woods, the sun, among the bushes, the brook with its deep, gently flowing waters; and, at night—our giant bed! I don't need to say more: your letter made it clear to me that you had the same understanding for it and still cherish it. I don't feel myself called upon to parade this before the blind, foolish world out there, any more than the other secrets to which I am bound in my office as pastor. But, Heinz, it's true—between us it may be said—in the secrecy of such feather beds—we know it!—beautiful and sacred friendships are formed! A simple, little green tendril of poetry grows between tender and childlike hearts—though slandered and broken by the whole insensitive, dull world, it is nurtured and protected by blessed midnights. Not the force of office and custom, advantage and gain, not position and honours, oh no, rather this gentle poetry of guileless hearts holds men together, if they are truly good, and still capable of a fine and lovely emotion. For this reason the brave and just friend of mankind will not reject such early-blossoming of souls, but rather cultivate and protect it with watchful hands!—and so—come with me now—up there!"

He took the lamp from the table and led his guest through the room and up the steps to the upper floor, under the gable of the roof.

Before he pressed the latch of the door the pastor whispered:

"You know, my son has a holiday visitor for Whitsuntide!"

Then they entered the room. The rays of the lamp fell onto the giant bed. Lying in it, deep in sleep, were two boys.

The bed was mussed as if the two had used it as a gymnasium before going to sleep. The pillows were rumpled, and the tangled covers gave evidence of wrestling and other struggles. They must have fooled about heatedly, for they had stripped off their nightshirts and lay naked beside one another. The one had stretched his arm over the pillow, and on it lay the head of the other, his flushed face nestled into the naked shoulder of his friend. Their hands lay upon the covers, tenderly joined together. Over their foreheads wandered the dream of happiness and bliss.

When the pastor was again outside with his guest, on the steps, they looked one another in the eyes, for a long time.

And the pastor whispered with a deeply moved voice: "Therefore did my heart rejoice, and my tongue was glad, for my flesh shall rest in hope."

Editor's Note:

This is the first English appearance of this story, translated by Dr. Hubert Kennedy. Even in the original German it is rare and relatively obscure. The identity of the author is now totally unknown. From internal evidence we can date the composition of the story to the years 1907-1909. The comment in Heinz's letter about press reports and public uproar concerning "facts that are usually kept so secret" evidently refers to the Eulenburg affair, which occupied the German press in those years,[1] and, being in the present tense, it can be taken to indicate that the story was written in that period.

The story was published in November, 1913, under the title "Pfingstnacht: eine novelle".[2] It appeared as a booklet of 16 pages, in an edition of 1200 copies (of which 200 were on Japan paper and hand numbered; one of these numbered copies was used in preparing this translation). It was the second in a series of pamphlets produced by the Wegwalt-Werkstatt in Wilhelmshagen, a suburb of Berlin in what has been the German Democratic Republic. Other pamphlets in the series included "Manor", a supernatural tale with homosexual overtones by the early advocate of homosexual liberation, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, and a German translation of Michelangelo's Cavalieri sonnets.[3]

Adolf Brand, the editor of the pioneering homosexual magazine *Der Eigene*, lived in Wilhelmshagen, and the Wegwalt-Werkstatt was one of his many interconnected projects.[4] This gives us our one clue about "Benjamin": he must have been associated with, or at least known to, the circle which surrounded Brand and his journal. Brand and the Der Eigene circle were strongly opposed to the formulations about homosexuality that were advanced by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, his Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and its *Jahrbuch*. Among other points of difference with Hirschfeld, they were more open to relationships between men and boys—at least so long as the younger partner was over the age of puberty. Their attitude on this could accommodate a figure like John Henry Mackay, who remained on friendly terms with them.

Pfingsten is the German name for Pentecost (or, in Anglican usage, Whitsun), the liturgical celebration of the coming of the Holy Spirit, fifty days after Easter. A number of elements from the Biblical account are worked into this short story. The Bible text which provides the story's motif is from the account of Pentecost found in the second chapter of *The Acts of the Apostles*, verse 26. There it is part of a quotation from Psalm 16:8-11 from the Septuagint, or Greek translation of the Old Testament, which Peter cites in his Pentecost sermon. Dr. Kennedy has rendered it as a quote from the King James Version of *Acts*, generally parallel to Luther's German version, which is used by the author of the story. The one small change which will be noted—the replacement of the conjunctions "moreover also", which appear at the beginning of the second part of the verse in the Biblical version, by the causative "for"—reproduces the alteration which the author made in his quote from Luther's German text at the same point.

Although not about intergenerational relationships, this story deals with sexualized friendships among youth, and does so in a way quite reminiscent of the third chapter of Mackay's *Fenny Skaller*, which also first appeared in print in 1913.[5] In Mackay's novel, the relationship between the young Skaller and his friend Gustav begins the first day they meet "on the wide steps of the strange school"; the German text of "Pfingstnacht" specifies that Otto and Heinz also met and began their relationship in the first year at the Gymnasium, though in the translation this has been rendered as "in their early teens", for the sake of readers who may not be familiar with the structure of European secondary education. In both cases the relationships are described in terms of the boys' constant companionship and sharing; in both cases the relationships are set against a background of fecund nature. In *Fenny Skaller*, Fenny describes his relationship with Gustav as "his happiness, his first, great, boundless happiness", and in "Pfingstnacht" Heinz describes his relation with Otto as "inexplicable happiness"; in *Fenny Skaller*, Fenny reflects that the love that

bound him and Gustav was "entirely desire of the senses and entirely pleasure in one another", and in "Pfingstnacht" Heinz writes, "Our joy was to give pleasure to one another!" In both accounts, it is clear that the friendship is sexualized.

Such parallels, though striking, might be coincidental, for the subject matter of both Mackay's third chapter and "Benjamin's" story is the same—and indeed, the pathetic fallacy demands that accounts of first loves of any kind be set against spring or summer imagery and not falling leaves or snow! But more to the point, in both cases the love between the boys is treated as a precursor of, and certainly not different in nature from, love between males of other ages. In *Fenny Skaller*, Fenny pictures Gustav, now a judge, giving judgement on "this same love with which he himself once loved"; it is clear that Mackay is thinking here of men accused of relationships with boys, although, from his statements elsewhere, he probably did not intend this to include relations between adult males, which he tended to think of in terms of a "feminine man for a man" and defended in other terms. In "Pfingstnacht", while references in Heinz's letter to the Eulenburg affair may not imply that he sees any more parallel between it and their boyhood love than that both are misunderstood by the public, Otto's words clearly universalize their love and suggest that "this gentle poetry of guileless hearts" is indeed the bond between any males who are "still capable of a fine and lovely emotion." In both cases, adolescent sexuality is accepted in and of itself, as valid in its own terms, but also presented as a basis for achieving depth in other relationships between males.

Such, then, are the parallels of attitude and presentation that the possibility must be considered that "Benjamin" might be found among Mackay's acquaintances, and somehow knew of his work in progress, or at least shared attitudes being discussed in his circle. Whether this can be established or not, it is remarkable that "Pfingstnacht", in its meeting between Heinz (who, like Fenny, remained "lonely", being "more... filled with those beautiful weaknesses that once led us together") and Otto (who like Gustav had gone on to marry and hold a socially honoured position), suggests what a meeting between Fenny and Gustav might have been like if Gustav had *not* forgotten!

However, Mackay's work is not the only lens that can be used for viewing this story. The story should also be seen against late nineteenth century literary conventions regarding attraction between males, whether two men, an older man and a boy or youth, or two boys. In fiction, at least, any attraction between two males which had any hint of eroticism, no matter how faint, was almost always coupled with death—or, as one moves toward the twentieth century and the medical model for homosexuality gained ground, with sickness, shame, betrayal and loneliness. Even one of the most liberated thinkers could not break through this convention: in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' "Manor" (1885), one of the two youths is drowned, to return as a vampire and claim the life of the other.

Discussing the only known collection of short stories in German out of this period to treat paedophilia, August Adolf's *Ungewöhnliche Liebesgeschichten* (Berlin: Hugo Schilderberger Verlag, 1908), James Walter Jones observes,

> He presents homosexuality, more specifically man-boy love, completely within the restrictions of a view of homosexuality as sick. The stories focus on the men who love boys and weave in a tragic, often destructive element, almost necessarily so since the conception of same sex love as an illness demands this. Yet, while Adolf employs this model which defines homosexuality as different, often dangerous, he also takes a sympathetic attitude toward those relationships and their sorry fates.[6]

Sorry fates, indeed. "Der arme Herr Lehrer" concerns a teacher who suppresses his love for his pupils, and fearing that his affection might be suspected, cruelly mistreats them; when one boy rebels, the teacher rejoices that he has finally encountered someone who can match his ferocity of character, and in the rush of emotion embraces the boy, only to be caught, disgraced and dis-

missed. "Der kleine keter" concerns a priest who tries to seduce a boy, is rebuffed, and then accuses the boy of improper advances; in "Der einzige Barfüsssige in der klasse", a boy commits suicide when his love is rejected by a classmate; "Frühling" traces the thoughts of a man who rejects his attraction to an eight-year-old as "illness" and a destructive behaviour. In "Das Modell" an artist picks up a street-urchin, persuades him to model nude, and falls in love with him. Though the boy at first responds, he later goes to a church, hears there of the "sinfulness" of homosexuality, and breaks off the relationship; he subsequently dies, and the artist, learning of his death, renounces boy-love. Of the six stories in the book, only one is vaguely positive, "Ein verunglücktes Lehrgespräch", in which a man, seeking to persuade his boy-lover to adopt heterosexuality, is answered by the boy, who argues that their love is natural for them.

Perhaps most significantly, although he transcends the convention, and his 1913 novel *Fenny Skaller* concludes with Fenny's resolve that his love is natural and has its rights, even Mackay has the boy whom Fenny had loved "best of all" die, and his hero conclude—for a time—that "this love was *death*."[7]

Fiction in English prior to 1920 is equally dismal. There is the suicide of the title character in *Teleny* (1893), the murder/suicide which closes Bloxam's *The Priest and the Acolyte* (1894), the accidental shooting death of the Russian boy, Boris, in E.E. Bradford's "Boris Orloff" (1893), the death of the title character in Sturgis' *Tim* (1891), and Morgan's death in Henry James' "The Pupil" (1892), right on through the disgrace, flight and madness of "Wing" Biddelbaum in Sherwood Anderson's "Hands" (1919).

Ironically, it is perhaps Bloxam's story which is both closest to and farthest removed from "Whitsun Eve". Particularly compared to the morbid religiosity of Bloxam's tale, "Benjamin's" work, though equally permeated with religious feeling, themes and images, charts a radically different course. In "The Priest and the Acolyte", and throughout the period, it is clear that "the wages of sin is death." "Whitsun Eve" stands out astonishingly in such company, with its closing affirmation: "Therefore did my heart rejoice... for my flesh shall rest in hope"!

D.H. Mader

NOTES

1. The most accessible account of these scandals and trials in English is to be found in "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair," by James D. Steakley, *Studies in Visual Communication*, 9:2, 20-51, 1983.

2. It is fairly certain that this was the first appearance of "Pfingstnacht". *Der Eigene*, the most likely source for any appearance, suspended publication from the time of the Eulenburg affair in 1907 until 1918. Manfred Herzer (private communication, 30 January 1990) has pointed out that if the assumption that Heinz's letter refers to the Eulenburg affair is correct, it would mean that the story was written after the suspension of *Der Eigene*, and it could not have previously appeared there. Whether it might have subsequently been reprinted there is less certain. The journal is of such rarity that no complete set is known to exist in any one location, and while all of the scholars who studied Brand and his publications and who were queried on this matter have responded that they had never seen this story in *Der Eigene*, and to the best of their knowledge it never appeared there, all cautioned that it could have appeared in an issue of the magazine unknown to them.

3. The seven pamphlets published by the Wegwalt-Werkstatt in 1913-14 were: Nr. 1, *Bild und Traum*, poems by Peter Hamecher; Nr. 2, *Pfingstnacht*; Nr. 3, *Manor*; Nr. 4, *Die Handschrift des Avicenna*, a poem by Alwin Roemer; Nr. 5, *Brief an eine Mutter*, a "prose poem" by Brand under the pseudonym "Caesareon"; Nr. 6, Michelangelo's Cavalieri sonnets; Nr. 7, *Die Wiedergeburt der Freundesliebe*, by Brand. *Deutsche Bücher*, 1916, p. 689.

4. Brand refers to this press, obviously as one of his projects,

in a letter to "Fidus" (pseudonym of Hugo Höppener), the painter of youth, 14 April 1913. I am indebted to Dr. Dieter Berner of Berlin (DDR) for providing a copy of this letter (private communication, 27 January 1990). Brand continued to advertise copies of the pamphlet as late as 1924.

5. J.H. Mackay, *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta: das dritte Buch: Fenny Skaller, ein Leben der namenlosen Liebe* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1979); in English: *Fenny Skaller and Other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, translated by Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988). The following citations from the novel are from pages 24-28 of the English edition.

6. James Walter Jones, *The "Third Sex" in German Literature from the Turn of the Century to 1933* (Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1986; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilm, 3058), p. 237. The Adolf volume is very hard to locate; I have relied on Jones' description of the contents, pp. 238-9, for the summaries.

7. Mackay, op. cit., p. 53.

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PAIDIKA BIBLIOGRAPHIES 3:

THE ENCLAVE PRESS

Joseph Geraci

The Enclave Press was an offshoot of the Enclave Kring (The Enclave Circle), which was, to the best of our knowledge, the first paedophile organization. The Enclave Kring was founded by Victor Servatius (Dr. Frits Bernard), who was also the founder and owner of the Enclave Press.

As early as 1957 a discussion regarding the creation of a paedophile group had begun within the COC (Cultuur en Ontspanningscentrum, the Dutch homosexual rights organization).[1] Between 1959 and 1964 a number of articles on paedophilia were published in the organization's journal, *Vriendschap*, but within the COC itself there was division about allowing paedophiles to form a special section.[2] Dr. Bernard's pamphlet *Over Pedofilie* (Item 7, below), which first appeared in *Vriendschap*, was a contribution to the discussion on the need for a paedophile group. In 1962 the paedophile contingent announced a COC meeting to discuss the formation of a special paedophile workgroup, but the Directors hurriedly acted to ban this meeting.

In the meantime, plans for the formation of a paedophile organization separate from both COC and the other Dutch sexological society, NVSH (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming, or Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform), had also been proceeding. Informal meetings of the Kring had been taking place in The Hague, and circulars were mailed out. In 1960 Enclave established itself in Rotterdam, and the informal meetings continued there. It was decided to start a press that would publish works with a paedophile theme, both fiction and non-fiction. The first two books appeared in April, 1960.

The Enclave Kring evolved into the International Enclave Movement, but from its beginning, because of the prejudices and oppression of the times, it remained an underground group with a small but international membership. The publishing arm was the visible exception.

By the end of the 1960s, however, the discussion about paedophilia in the Netherlands was changing. A more favorable climate within the sexological organizations, and in the society in general, ensued. In 1972 the NVSH sponsored the publication of the positive book, *Sex met Kinderen*,[3] and on January 20, 1973 the NVSH officially approved the installation of the Hoofdbestuurscommissie Pedofilie (National Executive Board for Paedophilia), although as early as January 1970 an NVSH paedophile workgroup had formed in Rotterdam. The Workgroups still play today an important role in the Dutch discussion on paedophilia.

Between 1966 and 1969 the activities of the Enclave Movement lessened, and by 1970 the group was no longer functioning, though by then many NVSH Workgroups were springing up around the country. Between 1964 and 1984 Enclave did not publish. But in 1984 books began to appear again, because of a worsening again of the times and the need to return to some of the earlier activism.

NOTES

1. Theo. Sandfort, "Pedophilia and the Gay Movement," in A.X. van Naerssen (ed.), *Gay Life in Dutch Society* (New York:

Harrington Park Press, 1986), pp. 89-111, gives a comprehensive history of the conflict over paedophilia in the COC and NVSH during the 1960's and 1970's.

2. Frits Bernard, "The Dutch Paedophile Emancipation Movement," *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia*, Number 2, Autumn 1987, pp. 35-45.

3. Peter Van Eeten (ed.), *Sex met Kinderen* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Uitgeverij NVSH, 1972).

THE ENCLAVE PUBLICATIONS

1. SERVATIUS, VICTOR [Frits Bernard]. *Vervolgde Minderheid*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1960. 8vo. pp. [*x*] 201 [*v*]. Light brown boards, gilt lettering on cover and spine. Plain, cream colored wrapper, brown lettering. An Afterward begins on p. 175, with half-titles as follows: p. 175 "Homosexualiteit en Wetenschap"; p. 176, "Wat is homosexualiteit"; p. 178, "Hoe ontstaat homosexualiteit"; p. 185, "De persoonlijkheid van de homosexueel"; p. 194, "Is de homosexueel te veranderen tot heterosexueel?"; p. 196 "Ephebophilie en Strafrecht". Colophon on p. 199 cites date written and date printed. Contents appears on p. 201. The novel was written in February, 1958 and printed in April 1960 by Storm Printer in Utrecht. c. 550 copies printed.

The story tells of a chance meeting between a man and a 13 year old boy on a train. The time is circa 1950. The man is a teacher and the boy appears in his class at the beginning of term. There is a strong, mutual attraction, but on his first attempt to embrace the boy, now sixteen, they are caught by the police while kissing. The man goes to jail, and the book ends with the man, now alone, realizing the relativity of his society's views and his freedom to choose either to remain in his country or leave. The Afterward is a scientific explanation of homosexuality and ephebophilia.

2. SERVATIUS, VICTOR [Frits Bernard]. *Costa Brava*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1960. 8vo. pp. [*xii*] 134 [*v*]. Dark green boards, gilt lettering on cover and spine. Plain, cream colored wrapper, green lettering. Colophon, citing date written, date printed and name of printer. c. 550 copies. The book appeared in April, 1960.

Costa Brava was written in the summer of 1958, soon after the completion of *Vervolgde Minderheid*. The novel takes place during the Spanish Civil War, and describes the meeting between a man and a boy of twelve who has lost his parents and is trying to reach a relative in France. They embark on a small boat to escape. The last chapter jumps ahead several years to South America when the man and the boy (now an adult) meet again.

3. SERVATIUS, VICTOR [Frits Bernard]. *Ephebophilie en Wetenschap: Stand van zaken*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1960. 8vo. pp. [*vi*] 19 [*i*]. Light gray wraps, black lettering.
Colophon, stating that this essay was previously published in *Vriendschap*, 1960 [in fact, *Vriendschap*, March, April, May, 1960]. c. 500 copies printed.

This pamphlet was issued in September, 1960 and describes positively the difference between ephebophilia and other forms of sexual attraction, defining it as an attraction to pubescent boys roughly between the ages of 12 and 18. Restates Freud's theory on homosexuality.

4. SERVATIUS, VICTOR [Frits Bernard]. *Phenomenologische Beschouwingen over Bisexualiteit*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1961. small 8vo. pp. [*ii*] 4 [*ii*]. White wraps, black lettering. Colophon states the essay was published in *Vriendschap*, January, 1961. c. 350 copies printed.

Discusses various questions regarding bisexuality in relation to homosexuality and heterosexuality; such as whether a man can be sexually interested both in mature women and small boys. It suggests that bi-sexuals have to accept both sides of their personality in order to avoid psychic tensions. This essay was also published in *C.O.C. Periodiek*, nr. 3, vierde kwartaal, 1961.

5. SERVATIUS, DRS. V. [Frits Bernard]. *Schlegel's analytisch constitutie-onderzoek*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1961. small 8vo. pp. [*ii*] 10 [*ii*]. Light gray wraps, black lettering.
Inside front cover reads, "Overdruk uit *Vriendschap*, 16e jaargang nr 3". Colophon lists four previous publications from Enclave, per above. c. 350 copies printed.

Published in May, 1961 by Enclave but also in *C.O.C. Periodiek*, nr. 2, eerste kwartaal, 1961. Dr. Schlegel was a well known German sexologist at the University of Hamburg who had done research into the aetiology of sexual preferences. This pamphlet explains Schlegel's research and some of his personality categories, such as andromorph-gynaecomorph.

6. SERVATIUS, DRS. V. [Frits Bernard]. *Wetgevingen en Sexueel Gedrag*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1961. small 8vo. pp. [*ii*] 12. Dark yellow wraps, black lettering.
Inside front cover reads, "Overdruk uit *Vriendschap*, 16e jaargang nr. 7." Back cover lists previous Enclave publications. c. 350 copies printed.

Discusses morals laws and age of consent in various European countries. This essay was also published in *C.O.C. Periodiek*, nr. 3, vierde kwartaal, 1961.

7. SERVATIUS, DRS. V. [Frits Bernard]. *Over Pedofilie*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1962. small 8vo. pp. [*ii*] 7 [*iii*] 14 [*ii*]. Green wraps, black lettering.
Inside front cover reads, "Overdrukken uit *Vriendschap*, 17e jaargang nrs. 2 en 3." First half-title page reads, "Een centrum voor pedofielen?" Second half-title page, following p. 7 and blank page, reads, "Zin der pedofilie." c. 350 copies printed.

Discusses positively the relationships between prepubescent children and adults. Explains the need for paedophiles to organize themselves into groups.

8. LAST, JEF [Josephus Carel Franciscus]. *De Jeugd van Judas*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1962. 8vo. pp. [*iv*] 69 [*iii*]. White decorative wraps with lettering and illustration in black and red. Cover design by the author. The lighthouse is the one at Katwijk, the setting for the novel. The author

Cover, Jeugd van Judas; *design by the author.*

specifically requested the color red for the background. c. 550 copies printed.

Jef Last (1898–1972) was a socialist journalist and the author of more than 65 books. In the thirties, along with the well known Dutch writers Menno ter Braak and E. du Perron, he was one of the leading literary figures of the left. For a short time he was a communist, but after a trip to Soviet Russia with André Gide he became highly critical of soviet-style communism and disavowed his communist connections. His best known works were travel accounts of the Far East and Indo-China, and he was a recognized Sinologist.
The novel is set in the northern Dutch village of Katwijk, and tells of two schoolboys, Karel and his Jewish friend, David. Karel is vulnerable and thinks of himself as something of an outsider because of his fragile health and his black hair and brown eyes, whereas the local fishing village boys have blue eyes and blond hair. David, dark eyed and dark-haired like himself, is intelligent and genuine, and comes to symbolize for Karel kindness and love. An erotic bond develops between the two boys. The author, in correspondence with the publisher, was of the opinion that this was his best book.

Cover, de Legende de Magelang; design by Mario de Graaf.

9. HUISMAN, COR. *De Legende van Magelang*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1964. 8vo. pp. [*x*] 81 [*iii*]. White and gray decorative wraps, brown and white lettering.
Cover design by Mario de Graaf. Dedication on p. *vii* to Marie Lansman-Razoux Schultz. Poem on p. *ix*. An Afterword appears on pp. 80 and 81 explaining that the story owes its origin to Huisman's friend, A. J. Lansman, who had taught mathematics in the Netherlands East Indies. The Afterward is dated "Spring, 1964." c. 550 copies printed. *Afterword

Cor Huisman was a Dutch writer and journalist who wrote several popular books about North Africa and the Middle East: *Bourguiba* (1963); *Nasser* (1964); *Egypte en Israel* (1965).
Magelang is a city and district in central Java. The book retells a folk legend from that district, with homosexual undertones, about the children of the gods.

10. BRUNOZ, O. [Edward Brongersma] *La Pédophilie: l'amour des garçons*. Preface by Victor Servatius [Frits Bernard]. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1964. 8vo. pp. [*ix*] 95 [*i*]. White wraps with black and red lettering.
On p. *ii* it is stated that this is a French, expanded version of the Dutch pamphlet, *Pedofilie,* published by C.O.C, no date [1961]. An epigram from "The Affectionate Shepherd" (1594) by the English poet Richard Barnfield (1574–1627) is at the bottom of p. *vi*. The Preface by Victor Servatius [Frits Bernard] appears on p. *vii*. The Introduction begins on p. *ix*. c. 500 copies printed.

Discusses homosexual paedophilia in general, with several asides about heterophile paedophilia, but defines the child in paedophile relationships as at least at the age of puberty.

Illustration by Aloysius Heylaerts for second edition of Costa Brava, p. 284.

11. BERNARD, FRITS. *Vervolgde Minderheid/ Costa Brava*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1984. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. [*vi*] 341 [*iii*]. Cream colored boards with black lettering; line drawing on cover. Issued without paper wraps. Photograph of the author, taken July, 1955, appears as a frontispiece, p. *ii*. Ter Inleiding appears on p. 9. Three Afterwords, pp. 323-340, detail the publishing history, reviews and acknowledgements of both

books since their first editions in 1962 (Items 1 and 2, above). Colophon, p. 341, states that the book was published in December, 1984. Cover and interior illustrations by Aloysius Heylaerts [Jan Weekers]. c. 1100 copies printed.

12. BERNARD, DR. FRITS. *Paedophilia, A Factual Report*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1985. 8vo. pp. [*vi*] 9-101 [*i*]. 8vo. Maroon cloth with gold lettering; red dust wrapper with white lettering. c. 1000 copies printed.

There were several versions of Dr. Bernard's book on paedophilia. The first, Dutch edition was titled *Pedofilie* and was published by Aquarius, Bussum, 1975. An expanded German edition titled *Paedophilie–von der Liebe mit Kindern* was published by Verlag Andreas Achenbach, Lollar, 1979, with a second printing in 1980 under the same title. Two years later this German edition was expanded, revised and republished as *Kinderschaender? Paedophilie–von der Liebe mit Kindern* by Foerster Verlag, Berlin and Frankfurt, 1982.
This first English edition contains extracts from the 1982 German edition. Includes chapters on the effects on the child of paedophile relationships; personality characteristics of paedophiles; age limits in paedophilia; the normalcy of paedophiles. At the end it also provides a list of paedophile associations and publications.

13. [BERNARD, FRITS]. *Select International Bibliography*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1988. 8vo. pp. [*v*] 19 [*i*]. Gray wraps, black lettering and design on cover. Contains 222 entries. c. 35 copies printed.

A bibliography of writings by Dr. Bernard. Contains a listing of articles, books and unpublished manuscripts, 1946–1988.

14. [BERNARD, FRITS]. *Selected Publications of Dr. Frits Bernard: An International Bibliography*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1989. 8vo. pp. [*vii*] 10-30 [*ii*]. Bright red wraps, black lettering.

Expanded edition of Item 13. Contains 266 entries. c. 350 copies printed.

Editor's Note:

Joseph Geraci is a member of the Board of the Stichting Paidika Foundation and the Editor of Paidika.

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BOOK NOTES

Our new bibliographic series, beginning in this issue, is an attempt to keep our readers abreast of new titles on paedophilia appearing for the most part in the last year. We have been somewhat selective and have included only important titles. Though we have followed the definition of paedophilia as outlined in our first issue, we have also included works of non-fiction and fiction dealing with childhood sexuality. The list concentrates on complete books, but in some instances articles or short stories of note have been added. A mention in Book Notes does not preclude a full review in *Paidika*. However, books reviewed in *Paidika* will not normally also be mentioned in Book Notes.

Book Notes has been compiled by: Frits Bernard, Edward Brongersma, Joseph Geraci, Will H.L. Ogrinc, Erick Pontalley and Lawrence A. Stanley.

AL-NAWADJI, MOUHAMMAD. (Trans. by René R. Khawam) *La Prairie des Gazelles: Éloge des beaux adolescents*. Paris: Phébus, 1989.
Poetry in praise of the beauty of adolescent boys by a Muslim mystic poet living in Cairo in the first part of the 15th century.

BARBIER, PATRICK. *Histoire des castrats*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1989.
Historical study of castrati including chapters on the recruiting of young boys and their training.

BENNASSAR, BARTOLOMÉ and BENNASSAR, LUCILE. *Les chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Paris: Perrin, 1989.
History of Christians captured and converted to Islam, with chapters on boys kidnapped and captured by Muslim soldiers, some of whom were given as lovers to various men. The book is well researched and even contains lists of the names of the boys captured.

[BERNARD, FRITS]. *Selected Publications of Dr. Frits Bernard: An International Bibliography*. Rotterdam: Enclave, 1989. Gives a chronological list of 266 items: articles, reviews, books, mostly on the subject of paedophilia by Dr. Bernard.

BREMMER, JAN (ed.). *From Sappho to DeSade: Moments in the history of Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 1989.
Has an important essay by Bremmer on Greek boy-love, and other essays that include discussions of boy- and girl-love. The work first appeared in Dutch in 1988.

BRONNEN, ARNOLD. *Septembernovelle*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989.
Reissue of a 1930's novella that tells of the love between a teacher and his pupil. The book was much admired by Brecht.

CAYROL, JEAN. *Les Enfants Pillards*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1989.
Set at the French beach resort of Les Landes during the First World War. Deals with three pubescent boys, two brothers and their friend. The book is very well written and beautifully describes the boys' emotional reactions to events and their awakening sexuality.

CHESIRE, JIMMY. *Home Boy*. New York: New American Library, 1989.
The book is set at a foundling home for boys, which the writer goes out of his way to identify as Father Flanagan's Boys Town. The narrator is seventeen year old Frederick Gamble, and there is much in the book about his confused sexual feelings for other boys, some younger, some the same age. The book does not focus on any relationships and is rather disjointed and unsatisfactory, but the middle section interestingly describes the sexual lives of the boys at the home.

COHEN, MORTON N. *Lewis Carroll. Interviews and Recollections*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989.
At least half of the book contains recollections of dozens of Carroll's child friends, all but a few of them girls, speaking about their friendships with Carroll. Through the recollections, a clear picture emerges of Carroll as a man who was passionate about very young girls and who was trusted and loved by them.

DAVENPORT, GUY. *A Balthus Notebook*. New York: Ecco Press, 1989.
Professorial reflections on the artist Balthus' work, especially his renowned erotic paintings of adolescent and pubescent girls.

DEYSSEL, LODEWIJK VAN. *De Kleine Republiek*. (ed. by Harry G.M. Prick). Nijmegen: Cadans, 1989.
A new edition of the most famous of Dutch school novels, originally published in 1888. The book is autobiographical. It was ahead of its time, and much criticized because of its insistence on describing the importance of sexuality in a boys' boarding school. The author, as a boy, was expelled from his school (Rolduc) because he was discovered pissing in his hat during a pilgrimage to a local shrine to the Virgin Mary.
(DEYSSEL) PRICK, HARRY G.M. *Jongensliefen jongensleed*. Nijmegen: Cadans, 1989.
Separate edition of the Epilogue of the preceding book.

DREVET, PATRICK. *Une Chambre dans les bois*. Paris: Gallimard, 1989.
David, whose age is given as "on the edge of puberty", is staying at a lumber camp in the French mountains near the Italian border, where his mother works as an accountant. He becomes sexually infatuated with an older boy working there named William, who is an army deserter and at first ignores him. David's sexual adoration of William is dealt with openly, as for example in a scene where David spies on William masturbating. His reaction is not shock, but being filled with wonder. The book is beautifully written and has been mentioned as a possible Prix de Goncourt winner.

DUVERT, TONY. *Abécédaire malveillant*. Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 1989.
Philosophical musings, under various titles listed alphabetically. The last entry, "Zoophilie", is an attempt to rethink the meaning of paedophilia and is an important essay on the subject.

FERNANDEZ, DOMINIQUE. *Le rapt de Ganymède*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1989.
Personal reflections on homosexuality by a popular gay novelist, including its history, culture and other sociological elements. Very often, however, he makes no distinction between boy-love and adult gay relationships.

GREENBERG, DAVID. *The Construction of Homosexuality*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
Even though the author states that Transgenerational Homosexuality is one of the four main categories of homosexuality, he devotes only pp. 26–40 to its discussion, in a book of 635 pages. His discussion, generally positive, focuses on anthropological literature such as that of Gilbert Herdt, but leaves the impression that paedophilia is a phenomenon of "primitive" cultures only, and not of current western cultures also. Within these bounds, the discussion nevertheless presents the facts well.

HANLO, JAN. *Brieven. 1931-1962; 1963-1969*. (ed. by Ser J.L. Prop, K. Schippers and Erica Stigter.) Two volumes. Amsterdam: G.A. van Oorschot, 1989.
Selected letters by a Dutch writer who wrote openly about his sexual attraction to pubescent boys, especially in his autobiographical account *Go to the Mosk* (titled by the author in English, though published in Dutch). The letters contain some discussion about his sexual attraction to boys, but generally in the light of a religious, Roman Catholic, conflict. They are of a high literary value as well.

HERMANS, LEX. *Pederasten en passieven: homo-*

seksuele identiteit en mannenliefde in het Romeinse rijk, van de late republiek tot de triomf van het christendom. Leiden: University of Leiden, 1990. In this PhD dissertation the author considers Roman "paederasty" as "a way of life", and much of the thesis is taken up with this discussion. Comparisons are made between paederasty in the Eastern Roman Empire and the attitudes in Rome itself, where it was banned and thought part of eastern "passive" behaviour. The deprecation of paedophilia and paederasty from the 2nd century on is carefully traced and fitted into a new theory of Roman homosexuality. An English language version has been announced.

KOCH-HARNACK, GUNDEL. *Erotische Symbole: Lotusblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen.* Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1989.
The study examines the erotic meaning of the symbols of the lotus and the sharing of a cloak in Greek vase painting. There is an interesting chapter on the meaning of these symbols in paedophile scenes.

KNOLL, J. and SCHOEPS, J. (eds.). *Die Jugendbewegung.* Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1988.
An interesting history of the German youth movements in the 1920's and 1930's. Deals with their erotic and sexual sides as well.

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KRÖHNKE, FRIEDRICH. *Was gibt es Neues bei der Polizei?* Zürich: Amman, 1989. *
A boy-lover reflects on his life as a paedophile, and on his meeting with boys out of reformatories, street boys or prostitutes, who, like the author, feel themselves outsiders. While cruising one day he meets a boy with whom he falls in love, but who only gives him sex in return. This becomes an occasion, however, for reflection. The book is lightly comic and very well done.

KRÖHNKE, FRIEDRICH. *Leporello.* Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1989.
Short stories about boy-love.

LEOPARDI, ANGELO. *Der Pädosexuelle Komplex.* Berlin/Frankfurt: Foerster Verlag, 1988.
A generally positive anthology of essays about paedophilia, its history, psychology, legal status, etc. Has a helpful bibliography at the end.

MANTURA, BRUNO. *Temi di Vincenzo Gemito. Spoleto, Palazzo Racani Arroni, 2 luglio–3 settembre 1989.* Roma: Edizioni d'Arte, 1989.
Exhibition catalogue of the work of the Neapolitan sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929), two of whose most famous works are of boys: "Pescatore" and "Acquaiolo". The catalogue is very well produced and contains many reproductions of drawings, studies and statues of nude boys.

MARSÉ, JUAN. *Si te dicen que cai.* Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1989.
A revised version of a famous Spanish novel first published in 1973. The author is one of the foremost Spanish "social realists", though because of the Franco censors the book was first published in Mexico. This is a rewritten and revised version and tells, in an anecdotal style, the story of the lives and sometimes the sexual adventures of a group of boys in a poor quarter of Barcelona during the first years of the Civil War.

MARTIN, JACQUES. *L'achémiste.* With drawings by Jean Pleyers. Tournai: Casterman, 1989.
Story set in Florence in 1439, telling of the young Jhen, who visits that city and enters training to become an alchemist. He is very beautiful and the

Florentine painters ask to paint him. The text is accompanied by nude drawings of the adolescent Jhen.

McMULLEN, RICHIE. *Enchanted Boy*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1989.
A ten year old boy who is being beaten by his father falls somewhat accidentally into sex for money. In his early teens, prostitution becomes a way of asserting his independence. The book deals well with psychological motivations.

MOTT, LUIZ. "Cupido na sala de aula: Pedofilia e pederastia no Brasil antigo." Sao Paulo, Brasil: *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, nr. 69, May, 1989, pp. 32-39.
This essay is a survey of legal and social attitudes toward sexual relationships between adults and minors in Brazil, 1600-1850, drawing largely on case documents of the Portuguese Inquisition.

NAERSSEN, A.X. VAN. *Labyrint zonder muren: analyse van het seksueel verlangen*. Utrecht: Veen, 1989. Contains an important theoretical chapter on paedophilia.

NAERSSEN, A.X. VAN. "Pedofilie: een controverse in de seksuologic." *Tijdschrift voor Seksuologie*, 13:2, 1989, pp. 95-100.
Takes a positive view.

NELSON, JOAN. "Intergenerational sexual contact: a continuum model of participants and experiences." *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy*, 15:1, 1989, pp. 3-12.
Distinguishes between paedophiles and abusers, and even labels some forms of paedophilia "visionary". One of the few American articles this year to draw such a distinction, and to treat paedophiles positively.

NICHOLSON, JOHN GAMBRIL. *In the Dreamy Afternoon*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1989.
Boy love poetry by one of the leading figures of the English Uranians. Nicholson (1866-1931) published four volumes of poetry, this volume being a selection.

NIJENHUIS, GERARD. *Onteigening*. Meppel/Amsterdam: Boom and Taconis, 1989.
A young man from the eastern Dutch province of Drenthe returns to his village for a birthday celebration and recalls his boyhood and the awakening of homosexual feelings.

PENNA, SANDRO. *Beetje Koorts*. (Trans. by Willem Timmermans). Amsterdam: De Woelrat, 1989.
A Dutch translation of the Italian poet's book *Un po'di febbre*, published in 1973. Short prose pieces and prose poems, many of which are paedophile in theme.

SAINTONGE, PIERRE DE. *Le Rêve Évanoui*. Paris: Societé Corydon, 1989.
An epistolary novel with a rather convoluted plot, concerning a man in love with the fifteen year old boy, Rémi, who in turn is in love with a thirteen year old boy. The man writes advice to Rémi about his love for this young boy, but we gradually come to learn that Rémi is, in fact, dead and the adult is, through this subterfuge, trying to bring him back to life.

SANDFORT, THEO. *Seksuele ervaringen van kinderen: betekenis en effect voor later*. Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1989.
Popular Dutch version of Dr. Sandfort's PhD thesis, one of the only texts available regarding the positive effects on the child of adult-child sexual relationships.

SANDT, UDOLPHO VAN DE and VOVELLE, MICHEL. "Heldenkinder." Berlin: *FMR: Internationales Magazin für Kunst und Kultur*, nr. 21, 1989. pp. 51-64.
Though not about sexuality, this is a very interesting essay on the symbolism of boys. It chronicles the story of Joseph Bara, aged 14, and Agricol Viala, aged 13, who were murdered by opponents of the French Revolution. Before his arrest Robespierre wanted to place the boys' ashes in the Pantheon, making them part of his cult of freedom. Their martyrdom was much used as a subject by painters, most often depicting the boys naked, as innocent child warrior heroes fighting for the ideals of the Revolution.

SCHNEIDER, MARCEL. *Un été sur le lac*. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1989.
A fantasy novel about a tutor who falls hopelessly in love with a beautiful, sensual sixteen year old boy in a haunted castle.

SEABROOK, MIKE. *Unnatural Relations*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1989.
Jamie is in love with nineteen year old Chris, who gives him a good deal of solace from his problems. The relationship is described as being important to both. Chris is arrested, however, for "buggery with a minor", with a potential sentence of life-imprisonment. It is interesting to note that the novel was written by a former police officer.

TOURNIER, MICHEL. "African Adventures." (Trans. by Barbara Wright). London: *The European Gay Review*, Volume Three, 1988 (appeared early 1989).
A short story, translated here for the first time, that deals with a Frenchman visiting Morocco and meeting and becoming sexually involved with two Arab boys aged twelve and eleven.

(TUKE, HENRY SCOTT) WAINWRIGHT, DAVID and DINN, CATHERINE. *Henry Scott Tuke 1858-1929: Under Canvas*. London: Sarema Press, 1989.
A large coffee table book that glosses over Tuke's sexuality, but reproduces the paintings well, and otherwise presents his biography in a concise and well written way.
For those interested in filling in details about Tuke's connection to the Uranian movement and a rather more frank discussion about his sexuality, there is Emmanuel Cooper's *The Life and Work of Henry Scott Tuke: 1858-1929*, published by Gay Men's Press in 1987. The reader should be cautioned, however, that there are errors of art history in the book.

VALKENSTIJN, JAN. *De geschiedenis van de jongenzang tot aan de Reformatie*. 2 volumes. Brugge: Uitgeverij Tabor, 1989.
A well-documented history of European boy choristers from the Middle Ages to the Reformation. The author attributes the importance of boys' liturgical singing in the medieval liturgy to the belief that young boys were without sin. There is a discussion of the social aspects of choirs: housing, friendships, etc. There is also a description of the case of Nicholas Gombert (1540), who had been for eleven years conductor of the chapel choir at the court of Emperor Charles V. He was sentenced to death for his sexual contacts with choir boys. The author has been since 1963 the conductor of the St. Bavo Boy's Choir in Haarlem, The Netherlands.

WAKEFIELD, HOLIDA and UNDERWAGER, RALPH. *Accusations of Child Sexual Abuse*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1988. *
Gives a convincing criticism of the "sexual abuse industry" and the system that has evolved to deal with charges of sexual abuse. Covers from a critical point of view such topics as child witnesses, discriminating between false and true accusations, and prevention methods.

WATANABE, TSUNEO and IWATA, JUN'ICHI. *The Love of the Samurai*. London: Gay Men's Press, 1989.
Although the theme of the book is Japanese homosexuality in general, there is a good deal of information here about paedophilia and ephebophilia that is not available in other sources. The book, however, presents superficial and rather dubious theories about the reasons for the decline of an homosexual culture in Japan. This is ascribed, for example, to a decline in the aesthetics of the male nude, in favor of the female nude, in eighteenth century Europe. The theory is not at all supported or developed. The author is Professor of Psychology at the University of Kochi.

***HOLLIDA**
(cf *Paidika* 9, p.2)

BOOK REVIEWS

Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre idee
Erich Bethe, preface and appendix by Wolfram Setz
(Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, [1988]), 48 pages

The Verlag rosa Winkel first reprinted Bethe's valuable article as a separate pamphlet in 1983; a debt of gratitude is due for again reprinting it. First published in 1907 in a journal of philology, the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, it is perhaps most valuable for its elucidation of the various terms associated with the cultivation of boy-love in Greece in the 7th to 5th centuries B.C. While Dr. Wayne Dynes has noted, "Bethe's attribution of the origin of the Greek institution of paederasty to the Dorian influx has been weakened by recent criticisms by Sir Kenneth Dover,"[1] it is still an excellent introduction to its subject, and indispensable for those with a scholarly interest.

Bethe himself notes that his was the first serious treatment of the historical problem of Greek boy-love since it was touched upon by F. G. Welcker and C. O. Müller in 1823 and 1844, respectively. (In his preface Wolfram Setz incorrectly states that Bethe meant an 1837 article by M. H. E. Meier.[2]) Bethe may have been prompted to investigate the topic by related articles which had been appearing in Magnus Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* since 1899; he cites several authors from that journal—which, in a charming slip, he once calls the "Jahrbuch für homosexuelle Zwischenstufen". Among them is Benedict Friedländer who, in his book *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (1904), urged a rebirth of the Greek ideal. Bethe does not go this far, but his evenhanded treatment was still considered a breach of scholarly propriety in the eyes of his fellow classicists, as Setz points out in his preface.

The first half of the pamphlet covers the by now familiar documentation of the existence and acceptance of the institution of paederasty in various Greek states, though Bethe admits that some of this will be accepted "only by one who has overcome moral prejudices in an historical consideration through scientific work." Having established that the basic idea of institutionalized paederasty was the transmission of manly virtues, the *arete* of a man, from one generation to the next, Bethe asks the interesting question, "How did they think it possible that a man could transfer his *arete* to boys through love?" This leads to a discussion of the seat and substance of the soul, and Bethe concludes that for the Greeks the man's *arete* was (contained in) his sperm and that this had to be received through the anus in the act of love. (He expressly rules out transmission through the mouth.)

In an interesting footnote, Bethe speculates on the possibility that the penis was considered the seat of the soul and finds analogous confirmation of this view in the ancient practice of cutting off the penis of one's enemy after battle. He cites the Biblical report, "Wherefore David arose and went, he and his men, and slew of the Philistines two hundred men; and David brought their foreskins, and gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's son-in-law. And Saul gave him Michal his daughter to wife." (I Samuel 18:27) A colleague of Bethe had pointed out that although the term used is literally "foreskin", here it means "foreskinned penis", as characteristic of the uncircumcised Philistines in contrast to the Israelites. As Bethe notes, "It is clear that foreskins were not cut from the conquered enemies as trophies, but rather the entire penes."

In his argument by analogy Bethe cites reports of the transmission of manly virtues through sperm among various primitive peoples, in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* and elsewhere. Much of this must have been unconvincing to his fellow classicists, but, as Setz points out in his preface, it has found more acceptance among those whose "view goes beyond the Hellenic horizon." Setz mentions in particular the recent work of Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg.

There is a charming picture on the cover of the pamphlet, taken from K. J. Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* (1978), showing a man fondling a boy's genitals. Curiously, Bethe makes no mention of the sexual pleasure which boys must have enjoyed in the long age of Greek boy-love, which, however, finally came to an end. Bethe concludes his essay,

> The idea from which paederasty had developed as a civil institution among the Dorians could not last in the long run, even in their states which turned away from civilization. It had to collapse with them, and if it survived, it could only be in secluded regions or, deep under the cultured class, among the lower class as a superstition, which, even if it

***K[arl]. O[ttfried]. Müller**

again gained a new form, as among the Barbelognostics, for example, was still acceptable only in the lowest classes. But boy-love remained as a universally practiced pleasure and was considered throughout the whole of antiquity and in the whole wide Hellenic cultural domain precisely as a necessary element of elegant, cultivated Greek life. It was only the Christian church, which has always been especially zealous against this heathen vice—not even excepting the Gnostics—that banned paederasty from Christian society and, since it was unable to do so through spiritual means, brought its criminal punishment into force in the year 342.

Hubert Kennedy

Notes

1. Wayne R. Dynes, *Homosexuality: A Research Guide* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), p. 81.
2. M.H.E. Meier, "Päderastie", *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 9 (1837), pp. 149-89.

Zedenangst. Het verhaal van Oude Pekela Benjamin Rossen (Amsterdam/Lisse: Swets en Zeitlinger, 1989), 223 pages.

Benjamin Rossen defines moral panic as "an undercurrent of anxiety that twists the human perception and bursts forth from time to time". Such an outburst, which he describes as mass hysteria after a theory put forward by Stanley Cohen, took place in the northern Dutch town of Oude Pekela. Those desiring to know more about the dimensions of moral panics will need to consult Cohen; Rossen is not so much interested in examining the theory as in presenting a case study. His concern is what happened—or more properly what did *not* happen—in Oude Pekela, and how the scandal was an expression of the anti-sexual syndrome from which the western world, and especially the US, must liberate itself.

As a description of the case of Oude Pekela, *Zedenangst* is a very good book. The immediate cause of the panic seems to have been "two small boys playing sex games", the excited reaction of the police investigation, the instigation and prolonging of the hysteria through the words and actions of Professor Mik (a youth psychiatrist and former member of parliament for the left wing D66 party), and of the Minister of Justice, Korthals Altes. These are described with clarity. The spread of similar scandals, such as the McMartin case in the U.S., also is taken up in the book.

The biggest problem for the prosecution in cases like these is that the witness of children can be based just as much on fantasies as on facts. If they are questioned in certain ways they confess what is suggested to them and are equally convincing about retelling what they have been told by their parents, heard on television, or read in the newspapers. But what they have experienced themselves remains shrouded in mist. According to Rossen that is the way it went in Oude Pekela. A minimal cause was transformed into the international production of child pornography through the mad hunt of the Doctors Jonker (a husband and wife who have a joint family practice in the town) and other key figures. No pornography was ever found anywhere. No physical signs of rape or abuse could be detected on any child by the doctors; no clues became evidence. Most astonishing of all was that about a hundred children were claimed to have been kidnapped without any adult noticing anything and brought back within an hour. That's how efficient the porn producers apparently were!

The whole scandal was indeed a form of mass hysteria and provides us with an interesting case study of what can happen when the fantasy of a porn-or paedo-fighter runs loose. It was a painful case as well, for quite a few families were devastated, reputations broken, social relations disturbed.

The Jonkers and most other Dutch people consider themselves secure in their conviction that the child is sexually innocent, and get worked up about adults keeping their dirty hands off children. Rossen believes that the child is not that unspoilt as far as sexual matters are concerned and that erotic relationships between adults and children should not a priori be condemned. Quite rightly he disagrees with the absolute denial of children's autonomous sexual desires. The debates about incest within the family, and paedophilia and pornography outside it, considerably diminish areas of interaction between parents and other adults, and children. Intimate relationships with children have become improper. No gym-teacher (male or female) dares to look in the boy's or girl's locker room. The unmarried uncle hardly dares put his little nephew on his lap; parents hesitate to take a shower with their children or allow them in their bedroom, because sexual accusations are more easily made than refuted. Utmost prudence and distance are now necessary in relationships with children.

The area of protecting a child's freedom of action is becoming obscured by the growing taboo against in-

timacies with youths. It is a positive development that medical examiners have been appointed who trace and treat abuses with children. It is a negative development that the institutional web around children, families and schools has assumed such large proportions that a bruise or a fantastic story immediately results in an inquisition. How good it is that children are left to the will of parents, teachers and others might be open to question. But surely it is extremely dangerous when doctors or pedagogues who are responsible for the well being of children overstep the mark themselves, like the Jonkers in Oude Pekela, Prof. Mik from Groningen, or Minister Korthals Altes. Surely we cannot expect parents always to behave with restraint towards their offspring. The government, however, must always behave with restraint. In Oude Pekela they did not.

Doesn't our society go a bit overboard with its ideals of sexual innocence? Sexual intimacies are not in and of themselves by definition harmful or dangerous. Among the Greeks it was boy love that was an institution, not the child protection agencies. Nowadays we put very high demands on education. We reject too much intimacy between teacher and pupil as well as too much strictness. We can readily see the defects of parents and educators, but does this warrant the growth of interference with the raising and teaching of children? If parents can cause terrible evil, when the government does so it is many times more terrible. Sometimes, as in Oude Pekela, this is because such interference is baseless, other times it is because such interventions not only harm the child, but the whole pedagogical situation. A society that surrounds itself with an army of "scientific experts" is asking for trouble.

Rossen mentions these dilemmas briefly but didn't succeed in making them an integral part of his argument. His indignation makes the book a good documentary, but he does not have the distance always to examine the issues objectively. Oude Pekela is a volcano of moral panic for him, but perhaps he should have given more consideration to the exclusion of sexuality from education as the dynamic which made the excesses of Oude Pekela possible. The background of the evil that Rossen opposes goes far deeper that he indicates.

Gert Hekma

La Pédophilie en Question
Pasteur J. Doucé, ed. (Paris: Lumière & Justice, 1987), 247 pages, paperback

Joseph Doucé, a Baptist minister with a background in psychology and sexology, has for many years been the head of the Centre du Christ Libérateur in Paris, a pastoral service directed to the needs of, and distributing information about sexual minorities. Recently he started the Lumière & Justice press, which has published books on the sexual rights of prisoners, transsexuality, gay and lesbian couples, homosexuality and creativity, and sadomasochism. In *La Pédophilie en Question* he has assembled a number of articles, many of which had previously appeared elsewhere, in a handsome, readable French language book. He even persuaded the President of the Parisian Institute of Sexology, Dr. Jacques Waynberg, to provide a preface. Doucé in his introduction deplores the inhumanity of the French legal system, which in the 1980's allowed one suspect to sit in prison for three years in "preventive detention" before he was even brought to trial.

To this reviewer, the most interesting contribution was a transcribed radio interview in which a young man of 23 spoke about his relationship, which has lasted half his lifetime, with a paedophile. It began when he was eleven with simple friendship, gradually developed erotic overtones and then, "at the moment I myself desired it" (at age 14), their sexual relations began—and continued until he was 17, when the erotic bond faded gradually away. A close friendship remains. The young man vigorously denies he was coerced into having sex, or that the experience changed the essential nature of his sexual preference. Atypically, he is and always has considered himself homophile (most boys who have paedophile experiences with men are not), and he is convinced that his older friend only helped in his sexual evolution and acceptance of his homophilia.

There follow three papers on legal realities: in France, in Holland (Anneke Visser of the Vice Squad in The Hague, who has some rather strange ideas about paedophiles: they turn to children because they are insecure in their relationships with other adults!), and Italy (judges refrain from issuing heavy prison sentences because of the deplorable state of penal institutions and the readiness of complaining parents to be "bought off" by the accused or his attorney in order to protect family honor). All papers cite the relevant law articles and, what is immensely more important, discuss the ways in which they are currently being applied.

There are ten articles originally appearing in the Belgian magazine *L'Espoir* and elsewhere by Dutch jurist Dr. Edward Brongersma. They cover a variety of subjects, including the meaning of a child's consent; an homage to the German naturist pioneer, the late Hajo Ortil; pornography; father/son relations; even the situation today in Holland (or, rather, the situation several years ago: since the article was written, a number of adverse developments in The Netherlands have made the optimistic picture painted by Dr. Brongersma somewhat darker).

There is a large section on Christianity and paedophilia, consisting mainly of pastoral correspondence within the Flemish church in Belgium; a 40-page chapter on the various paedophile organizations in the world, with informed discussion of their histories and objectives; and finally a 40-page bibliography of mostly French-language books and papers on the subject.

Those who are inclined to view religion in general, and Christianity in particular, as an impediment to the sexual humanization of society should not be discouraged by the lengthy biblical quotes at the beginning of this book, or the overall moral/theological concern which animates its pages. Paedophobia has many pillars of support: conventional psychiatry, media, government, and not least of all traditional Christianity. It is encouraging to see a member of the church establishment risking his own position and the scarce funds at his disposal to publish so good a book which so clearly challenges the conventional Western mind-set.

Frank Torey

Rapport SiR 88/1
Werkgroep Seksualiteit, intimiteit, Relaties. (Maastricht: Werkgroep SiR, 1988). 140 pages, HFl. 14,50

The Workgroup SiR was formed in 1982 in Maastricht, the provincial capital of Limburg, in the south of the Netherlands between Germany and Belgium. It has since become a fascinating project, offering counseling, education, prevention and intervention services for sexual problems. Particular attention is given to forms of sexuality and sexual behavior which are legally or socially stigmatized, and prevention of sexual abuse is a major priority. Their ideas on this topic are of special interest.

The project's full Dutch name is Werkgroep SiR: bijzondere vormen van Seksualiteit, intimiteit, Relaties; positief/negatief (SiR Workgroup: Special forms of sexuality, intimacy, relationships, positive/negative). Among those participating is a paedophile workgroup that was founded in 1976. Also represented in SiR are the Buro Vertrouwenartsen inzake kindermishandeling (the local branch of the official Dutch agency of "confidential doctors", who are charged with investigating allegations of child abuse), the NVIH/COC (the Dutch national homosexual rights organization), and the NVSH (the national sexual reform group). Another significant participant is the local RIAGG (Regionale Instelling voor Ambulante Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg, or Regional Institute for Outpatient Mental Health Care), a privately administered but government mandated and funded multiservice agency which oversees and co-ordinates all facets of outpatient mental health care.

The *Rapport SiR 88/1* is the first in a projected series of publications in which the group plans to present its ideas and activities to a broader public. It combines their annual report, statistics and an overview of their activities with discussion papers in which the group offers outspoken comments on controversial issues.

As part of its commitment to public education, the group has organized seminars. The introductory speech for one of these is published in the report. In it, psychiatrist and sexologist Gerard Roelofs explains the ideas behind the work of the Sexual Abuse Teams. In cooperation with various institutions involved, from the vice squad to RIAGG, the teams operate on a "three track policy", attempting to recognize and deal creatively with the needs of the victim, the abuser and other persons involved. In the case of a father who was sexually abusing his daughter, assistance is offered not only to the daughter, but the father and the mother. Simply punishing the father by putting him in jail is not regarded as a structural solution. The main goal is assisting the father to take responsibilty for what has happened, in a process in which all parties are involved.

The Workgroup SiR advocates a nuanced way of viewing sexual abuse. This can be seen most clearly in the description of their prevention activities. A crucial distinction is made between positive and negative sexual experiences of children. "Sexual abuse" is defined as involuntary, forced sexual experience. In the opinion of the group, the best means of preventing such abuse is the emancipation of youth. This means that children must be taught how to assume more responsibility for themselves, and enabled to make decisions about their own lives. Then they can say "no" convinc-

ingly to approaches they do not like, but also "yes" to sexual contacts with peers or adults which they want.

These views, which inform the ways in which SiR conducts its prevention and intervention programs, are worked out in a chapter entitled "Commentary". Here prevention worker Jan Wauben and his co-author Elzo Pieterse criticize the revival of the taboo on intimacy and sexuality. They note that the underlying idea in much contemporary discussion of sexual abuse is that people cannot handle their freedom, so this freedom must be taken from them. This is, for instance, the message of popular instruction videos such as the Canadian "Feeling Yes, Feeling No", which teaches children that they can say "yes" to hugs, but that they must say "no" to anything associated with sexuality—in essence saying that sexuality is "adult business", a realm in which children's freedom of choice stops.

The Workgroup SiR argues that sexual abuse is not caused by too much freedom, but rather by social restrictions placed on children. They note that in our society children are confronted again and again with stereotypical images of human interaction, in which male dominance and a narrow heterosexual morality are taken for granted. When children at the same time are presented with the myth of dangerous "adult" sexuality, they become alienated from their own feelings and experiences. This process creates anxious and aggressive adults. The answer to this, they propose, lies not in further tightening the straitjacket of repression on children's sexuality, but in liberating youth from the limits of traditional social attitudes. Only through their emancipation and the consequent reduction of the inequality of power between adults and children can children really gain the power to defend themselves.

The ideas of the *Rapport SiR 88/1* should receive full attention from social workers and prevention workers who are concerned with sexual abuse. The Workgroup offers a healthy alternative to the false solutions advanced by law-and-order forces. Their experience in Limburg teaches us that a nuanced approach can gain support from institutions and individuals working in this field.

Marc van Bijsterveldt

The Reviewers:

Marc van Bijsterveldt is a student in the Educational Sciences Department at the University of Amsterdam.
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